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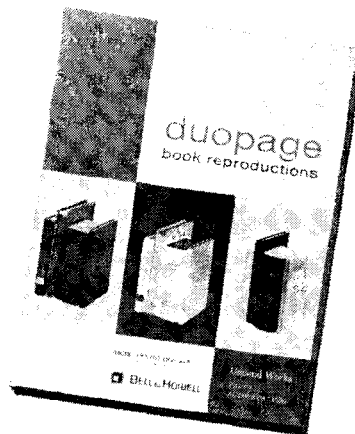
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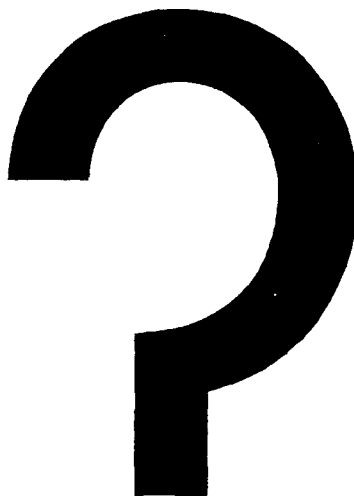
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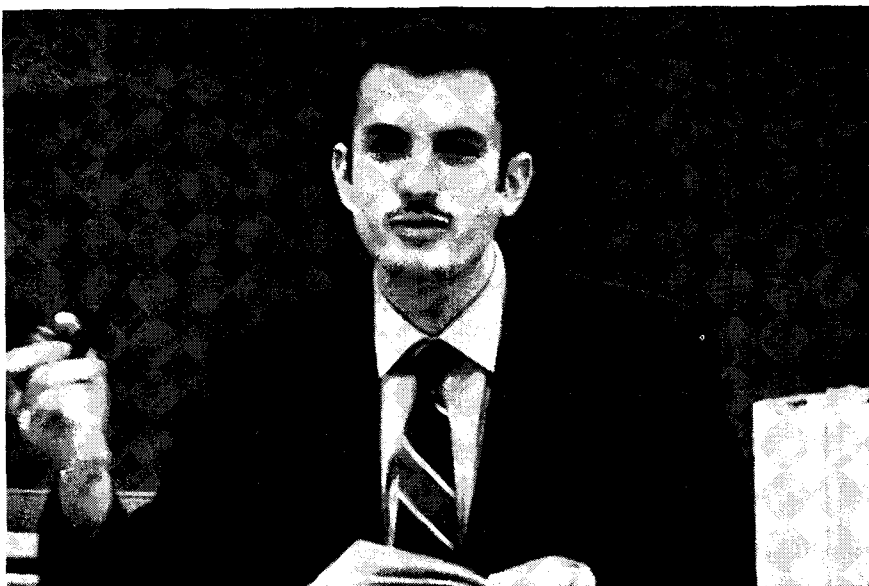
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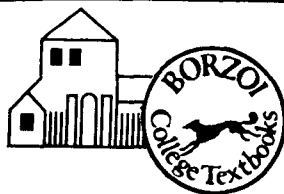
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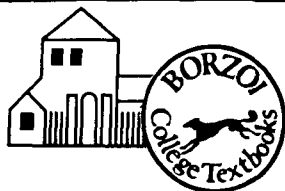
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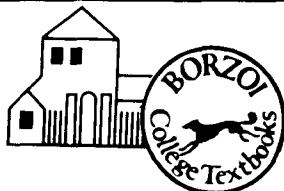
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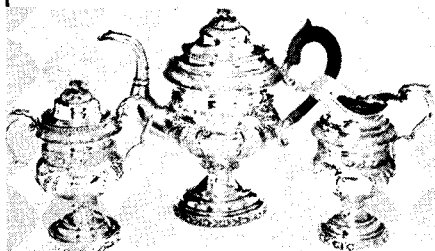
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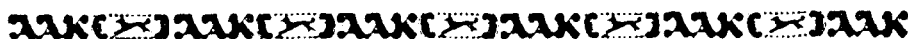
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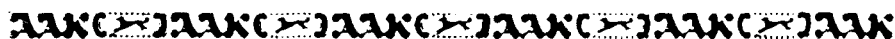
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Political Mimesis: A Consideration of the Historical and Cultural Roots of Legislative Behavior in the British Colonies in the Eighteenth Century

JACK P. GREENE

UNTIL comparatively recently, most investigations of government and politics in the eighteenth-century American colonies concentrated upon the recurrent contests between governors and elected lower houses of assembly and "the growth of colonial self-government" as reflected in the repeated triumphs of the assemblies in those struggles. There was an almost total consensus, as Charles M. Andrews wrote in 1943 after a lifetime of study, that "the most conspicuous feature" of "the political and institutional aspects . . . of the eighteenth century . . . was the rise of the colonial assembly with its growth to self-conscious activity and *de facto* independence of royal control."¹ Perhaps because the focus in these studies was primarily upon institutional development and the process by which

► Mr. Greene is a professor at Johns Hopkins University. At Duke University, where he received his Ph.D. in 1956, he worked with John R. Alden. One of his publications is *The Quest for Power: The Lower Houses of Assembly in the Southern Royal Colonies, 1689-1776* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1963). He presented a shorter version of this paper to the London conference of the International Commission for the History of Representative and Parliamentary Institutions, July 19, 1968. He wishes to thank Professors William W. Freehling, Caroline Robbins, Thad W. Tate, and Corinne Comstock Weston for their helpful suggestions. The title and central conception of the article were suggested by a passage in Herman Merivale's *1839-1841 Lectures on Colonization and Colonies* (3d ed., London, 1928), 74-75.

¹ The quotations are from Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Background of the American Revolution: Four Essays in American Colonial History* (New Haven, Conn., 1924), 30, and "On the Writing of Colonial History," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., I (Jan. 1944), 39.

the assemblies increased their authority, none of the studies made much attempt to handle the problem of motivation, to explain in any detail why the assemblies acted as they did. The early assumption of nineteenth-century patriotic American historians that the assemblies, obviously representing the natural desire of all men to be free, were fighting for liberty and democracy against executive oppression and tyranny simply gave way to the equally vague and untestable supposition of H. L. Osgood, Andrews, and their students. They contended that the assemblies, responding to environmentally induced social and intellectual tendencies that diverged sharply from those of the mother country, were seeking to secure as much self-government as possible, to attain, in the words of one writer, "the largest measure of local home rule compatible with whatever might be necessary to retain the advantages of the British connection."²

Around the beginning of this century, a few historians adopted a more promising line of investigation by focusing upon the political divisions that existed in almost every colony at many points during their history and that invariably cut across institutional boundaries. Because these historians often sought to explain those divisions in terms of a crude social dichotomy between upper and lower classes, the earliest of their studies did not much advance our understanding of the psychology of colonial politics. But they did show, as Andrews acknowledged late in his career, that any complete explanation of colonial political life required an "understanding of the social and propertied interests involved, class distinctions and personal rivalries, the motives of majorities, and the ambitions of political leaders."³ Despite the often fragmentary records of colonial politics, many detailed studies written during the past twenty-five years have provided a wealth of solid information on the nature of political rivalries, the social, economic, and religious motivation that lay behind those rivalries, and the substantive issues in dispute. In the process, they have shifted attention almost entirely away from the emergence of the assemblies, but they have revealed that rivalries were so diverse, motivation so complex, and issues so varied—not only from colony to colony but also from time to time within colonies—that it has been extremely difficult to construct an alternative general framework of interpretation that has so comprehensive an applicability.⁴

Bernard Bailyn has considered this problem at some length in his recent

² See *ibid.*, esp. 40–41, and Charles M. Andrews, "The American Revolution: An Interpretation," *American Historical Review*, XXXI (Jan. 1926), 219–32. For more extensive discussion of these traditions and citations to some of the principal works, see Jack P. Greene, *The Quest for Power: The Lower Houses of Assembly in the Southern Royal Colonies, 1689–1776* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1963), vii–ix, 4–7, and *id.*, review of F. G. Sprudle, *Early West Indian Government: Showing the Progress of Government in Barbados, Jamaica and the Leeward Islands, 1660–1783* (Palmerston, N.Z., 1963), in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., XXII (Jan. 1965), 147–48. The quotation is from Charles Worthen Spencer, "The Rise of the Assembly, 1691–1760," in *History of New York State*, ed. Alexander C. Flick (10 vols., New York, 1933–37), II, 196.

³ Andrews, "On the Writing of Colonial History," 40.

⁴ For an extended discussion of these works, see Jack P. Greene, "Changing Interpretations of Early American Politics," in *The Reinterpretation of Early American History*, ed. Ray A. Billington (San Marino, Calif., 1966), 151–72.

studies of the relationship among society, politics, and ideology in the eighteenth-century colonies. Earlier writers had described many of the central ingredients of colonial political thought and had pointed out the remarkable degree to which they were "a proudly conscious extension of political thought in England,"⁵ but Bailyn was the first to try to show which strands of English political thought were most important in the colonies and how those strands affected colonial political behavior. In the introduction to the first volume of his *Pamphlets of the American Revolution* he analyzed in greater detail than any previous scholar the intellectual content of American arguments against British policy between 1763 and 1776. He found that, although Americans drew heavily upon the heritage of classical antiquity, the writings of Enlightenment rationalism, the tradition of the English common law, and the political and social theories of New England Puritanism, it was the writings of "a group of early eighteenth-century radical publicists and opposition politicians in England who carried forward into the eighteenth century and applied to the politics of the age of Walpole the peculiar strain of anti-authoritarianism bred in the upheaval of the English Civil War" that dominated revolutionary political thought, "shaped it into a coherent whole," and, to a remarkable degree, determined the ways American leaders interpreted and responded to British regulatory and restrictive measures after 1763.⁶ In a new and expanded version of this work Bailyn argued on the basis of an investigation of earlier political writings that this same "configuration of ideas and attitudes . . . could be found [in the colonies] intact—completely formed—as far back as the 1730's" and "in partial form . . . even . . . at the turn of the seventeenth century."⁷

That this opposition vision of politics—this pattern of thought that viewed contemporary Britain "with alarm, 'stressed the dangers to England's ancient heritage and the loss of pristine virtue,' studied the processes of decay, and dwelt endlessly on the evidences of corruption . . . and the dark future these malignant signs portended"⁸—was the single most important intellectual ingredient in "American politics in its original, early eighteenth-century form" has subsequently been contended by Bailyn in a series of recent essays. He seeks to explain why this conception of politics acquired in the colonies a place in public life far more significant than it had ever had in England, why it became so "determinative of the political understanding of eighteenth-century Americans" that it formed the "assumptions and expectations" and furnished "not merely the vocabulary but the grammar of thought, the apparatus by which the world was perceived." In constructing an answer to this question, Bailyn manages to weave "into a single brief statement of explanation" his own findings on political ideology, many of

⁵ The most important is Clinton Rossiter, *Seedtime of the Republic: The Origin of the American Tradition of Political Liberty* (New York, 1953), 139–47; the quotation is from p. 140.

⁶ Bernard Bailyn, *Pamphlets of the American Revolution, 1750–1776* (1 vol. to date, Cambridge, Mass., 1965–), I, 20–89; the quotations are from pp. ix, 28.

⁷ *Id.*, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass., 1967), xi, 45–52.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 46.

the discoveries of those writers who stressed the rise of the assemblies, and the conclusions of the students of internal political divisions. What gave the opposition view of politics a "sharper relevance" in America, according to Bailyn, was the "bitter, persistent strife" that characterized colonial politics, strife between executives and legislatures and, infinitely more important, among the chaotic and continually shifting factions that, he suggests, were endemic to colonial life. This strife was rooted in two anomalies. First, while the theoretical powers of colonial executives were greater than those of their English counterparts, their actual powers were much smaller because they had at their disposal few of the "devices by which in England the executive" exerted effective political control. Second, the intense competition for status, power, and wealth generated by an unstable economic and social structure made what in England were only "theoretical dangers" appear in the colonies to be "real dangers" that threatened the very essentials of the constitution and created an atmosphere of suspicion and anxiety that made the opposition vision of politics seem especially appropriate.

Although the interpretation presented by Bailyn in *The Origins of American Politics* accommodates more aspects of colonial political life than any previous explanation, it is not, by itself, a sufficient explanation. Above all, it is insufficient because it does not fully take into account or put in clear perspective one of the main features of colonial political life, the very feature almost invariably singled out for comment by contemporaries in the colonies and subsequently treated as the central theme of colonial political development by so many later historians: the persistent preoccupation of colonial legislators with the dangers of prerogative power. Bailyn is, to be sure, at some pains to show the excessiveness, by English standards, of the governors' assigned powers. But he pays little attention to the colonial response to this situation. Instead, he stresses the executive weakness and the economic and social instability that made public life so brittle as presumably to give the opposition's frenzied charges of influence, conspiracy, and ministerial corruption such extraordinary explanatory power in the colonies. But this neglect and this emphasis were, in large measure, predetermined by Bailyn's research design. Limiting his investigation mostly to pamphlets and newspaper essays and ignoring other relevant sources such as legislative journals, he approached his study of early eighteenth-century political thought in search of the intellectual *origins* of the American Revolution and the *origins* of mid-eighteenth-century American politics, and he found precisely what he was looking for: instances of colonial use of the writings of John Trenchard and Thomas Gordon, Viscount Bolingbroke, and other writers of the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, and the colonial conditions that made the message of those writers so congenial. The result of this focus is that his study is both incomplete and, to the extent that it does not give adequate attention to other, perhaps more central aspects of early eighteenth-century politics, anachronistic. Specifically, in relation to the subject of this article, it does not consider changes in the nature and

content of colonial political thought over time. It neither explores older intellectual and political traditions that preceded colonial acceptance of the Walpolean opposition conception of politics nor seeks to explain under what conditions and to what extent newer conceptions replaced those older traditions. What Bailyn has failed to do for the early eighteenth century is thus precisely what he has correctly accused earlier writers of not doing for the revolutionary era: he has not been sensitive to what colonial political leaders "themselves . . . professed to be their own motivations." He has not considered the importance of how they saw themselves and how they conceived of the dimensions and function of the political roles into which they were cast.⁹

It is this problem as it specifically relates to the behavior of colonial legislators during the eighteenth century that I shall attempt to explore. My argument is that colonial legislative behavior was initially and deeply rooted in an older political tradition. I shall try to identify and explain the nature of that tradition, the sources and ways through which it may have been transmitted to the colonies, the intellectual and institutional imperatives it required of its adherents, the internal political and social circumstances that contributed to its acceptance and perpetuation in the colonies long after it had spent most of its force in England, and the extent to which it continued to inform and shape colonial legislative behavior right down to the American Revolution.

The older political tradition to which I refer is, of course, the seventeenth-century tradition of opposition to the Crown as it developed out of the repeated clashes between the first two Stuarts and their Parliaments during the first half of the century and, even more important because it occurred during a formative period in colonial political life, out of the Whig opposition to Charles II and James II in the 1670's and 1680's. Initially emerging from attempts by James I to challenge some of the "ancient Privileges" of the House of Commons, this tradition, as Thornhagh Gurdon remarked in the early eighteenth century, was a product of the "Apprehensions and Fears" among "Parliament and People . . . that instead of the ancient Constitution of *England*, a Monarchy limited by original Contract, between the ancient Princes and their People, established, and known by Custom and Usage," James "aimed at a . . . despotick Government." The ensuing "Strife and Debate," as eighteenth-century opposition writers were fond of pointing out, could be interpreted, fundamentally, as another effort in behalf of liberty in its age-old struggle against arbitrary power from whatever source it emanated. But because the Crown in this instance was the offending party and the House of Commons was still conceived of as the chief bulwark of the people's liberties, the contest became a fight by the House of Commons

⁹ Bernard Bailyn, *The Origins of American Politics* (New York, 1968), esp. the preface and Chaps. I and II. This work was previously published in *Perspectives in American History*, I (1967), 9-120. The quotations are from p. ix, 10, 53, 56, 63, 96, 160.

to restrain the prerogative of the King, an attempt by the Commons to define what one later writer described as "the just Limits between Prerogative and Privilege."¹⁰ The specific issues in dispute changed from Parliament to Parliament under the early Stuarts, but the debate over them was almost invariably cast in this form. Even after the contest had escalated in the early 1640's to the point where the ultimate issue became whether King or Parliament would exercise sovereign power, parliamentary leaders tended to see and to justify their actions as necessary protests or preventive measures against arbitrary use of royal prerogatives.¹¹

In part because Parliament itself had been so obviously guilty of abusive use of governmental power during the Civil War and Interregnum and in part because Parliament's existence no longer appeared to be in jeopardy, the conditions under which Charles II returned to the throne created strong pressures toward cooperation between King and Parliament. For a decade and a half after the Restoration, the opposition talked not about the dangers of excessive prerogative but about the potential evils of royal influence in the second Long Parliament. But as the "prerogative reached unparalleled heights"¹² in the late 1660's and as the very existence of Parliament increasingly seemed to the emerging Whig opposition "to be far too precarious and desperately in need of stronger protection,"¹³ the "uneasy co-operation of the first few years after the Restoration gave way, in the 1670s to a series of charges by the Commons that the King was acting unconstitutionally." It was widely assumed, as a later speaker declared, that the King had had "a surfeit of Parliaments in his father's time, and was therefore extremely desirous to lay them aside."¹⁴ Moved by the same old fears that had plagued its predecessors during the first half of the century, the House of Commons once again "leapt at any chance to question the royal prerogative" and to demand "constitutional safeguards . . . to protect the role of Parliament."¹⁵ As Betty Kemp has pointed out, the last six years of the reign of Charles II "and the whole reign of James II, showed that the more fundamental dangers of dissolution and absence of parliament had not passed" with the significant result that the Commons was "recalled . . . from a seemingly premature concern with influence to their earlier concern with prerogative."¹⁶ Opposition writers reminded their readers that the history of relations between Crown and Commons had been a "Series of . . . Invasions upon the *Privileges of Parliaments*" by the

¹⁰ The quotations are from Thornhagh Gurdon, *The History of the High Court of Parliament* (2 vols., London, 1731), II, 415-16, 506-508.

¹¹ For discussions of the varied content of opposition thought under the first two Stuarts, see Margaret Atwood Judson, *The Crisis of the Constitution: An Essay in Constitutional and Political Thought in England 1603-1645* (New Brunswick, N. J., 1949).

¹² Caroline Robbins, *The Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman: Studies in the Transmission, Development and Circumstance of English Liberal Thought from the Restoration of Charles II until the War with the Thirteen Colonies* (Cambridge, Mass., 1961), 26.

¹³ J. H. Plumb, *The Origins of Political Stability: England 1675-1725* (Boston, 1967), 32.

¹⁴ Betty Kemp, *King and Commons 1660-1832* (London, 1957), 3, n. 21.

¹⁵ Plumb, *Origins of Political Stability*, 50-51.

¹⁶ Kemp, *King and Commons*, 23-24.

Crown¹⁷ and dilated upon the theme that, in the later words of Thomas Hanmer, it was not cooperation with but “distrust of the executive” that was the chief “principle on which the whole of our Constitution is grounded.”¹⁸ Although the conviction that “serious restrictions” had to be imposed “on the King’s prerogative in relationship to Parliament” was inextricably intertwined with fears of popery and concern over the Crown’s arbitrary interference with all sorts of established institutions, and although it was held in check by vivid memories of what happened when Parliament went too far in its assault upon the Crown in the 1640’s,¹⁹ it was central to Whig and parliamentary opposition under the last two Stuarts and was one of the primary justifications for the Revolution of 1688.²⁰ Once these restrictions had been achieved by the settlement of 1689, they provided the basis for working out in the eighteenth century those methods “for co-operation between King and Commons” described by Betty Kemp, J. H. Plumb, and others.²¹ Though the fear of prerogative always lurked not far beneath and occasionally even appeared above the surface of political life, it ceased to be an animating force in English politics. Opposition writers concerned themselves instead with the dangers of ministerial influence and corruption.²²

In the colonies, by contrast, the seventeenth-century opposition tradition, with its overriding fear of prerogative power and its jealous concern with protecting the privileges and authority of the House of Commons, continued to occupy a prominent place in politics at least until the middle of the eighteenth century and did not entirely lose its force until after the Declaration of Independence.

Any explanation for this phenomenon must at this point be highly tentative. A partial explanation is to be found, however, in the powerful mimetic impulses within colonial society. At work to some extent in all areas of colonial life from the beginning of English colonization, these impulses are another example of the familiar tendency of provincial societies to look to the cultural capital for preferred values and approved models of behavior. If, as Peter Laslett has remarked, English colonization contained within it a strong urge to create in America “new societies in its own image, or in the image of its ideal self,”²³

¹⁷ See, e.g., the title to Pt. 2 of William Petyt, *Jus Parliamentarium: or, the Ancient Power, Jurisdiction, Rights and Liberties, of the most High Court of Parliament, Revived and Asserted* (London, 1739). This work was first published in 1680.

¹⁸ As quoted in Kemp, *King and Commons*, 4–5.

¹⁹ O. W. Furlley, “The Whig Exclusionists: Pamphlet Literature in the Exclusion Campaign, 1679–81,” *Cambridge Historical Journal*, XIII (No. 1, 1957), 19–36; J. R. Jones, *The First Whigs: The Politics of the Exclusion Crisis* (London, 1961). The quotation is from Kemp, *King and Commons*, 8.

²⁰ For the Whig opposition program, see Betty Behrens, “The Whig Theory of the Constitution in the Reign of Charles II,” *Cambridge Historical Journal*, VII (1941), 42–71, esp. 61–63. A clear analysis of events is provided by Clayton Roberts, *The Growth of Responsible Government in Stuart England* (Cambridge, Eng., 1966), 197–244.

²¹ Kemp, *King and Commons*, 8; Plumb, *Origins of Political Stability*, *passim*.

²² Robbins, *Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman*, 56–319; Bailyn, *Ideological Origins*, 34–54; and Isaac Kramnick, *Bolingbroke and His Circle: The Politics of Nostalgia in the Age of Walpole* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

²³ Peter Laslett, *The World We Have Lost* (New York, 1965), 183.

the impetus among the colonists to cast their societies in that same ideal image was (except in places like Massachusetts Bay, where men actually hoped to improve upon and not merely to duplicate English patterns) infinitely more powerful. Conditions of life in new and relatively inchoate and unstable societies at the extreme peripheries of English civilization inevitably created deep social and psychological insecurities, a major crisis of identity, that could be resolved, if at all, only through a constant reference back to the one certain measure of achievement: the standards of the cultural center. The result was a strong predisposition among the colonists to cultivate idealized English values and to seek to imitate idealized versions of English forms and institutions.²⁴

These mimetic impulses, which became increasingly intense through the eighteenth century and, ironically, were probably never greater than they were on the eve of the American Revolution, were given more power and made more explicit by two simultaneous developments in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. The first was the emergence of recognizable and reasonably permanent colonial elites with great political influence, whose economic activities carried them directly into the ambit of English society and thereby subjected them, to an even greater degree than earlier colonials, to the irresistible pull of English culture.²⁵ The second was the extensive expansion of English governmental influence into the colonies after the Restoration and the largely successful attempt by imperial authorities to substitute something resembling an English model of government for a welter of existing political forms that had grown up in the colonies.²⁶

That this model was only superficially English, that the analogy between King, Lords, and Commons in England on the one hand and the governors, councils, and assemblies in the colonies on the other was so obviously imperfect only stimulated the desire of colonial political leaders to make it less so.²⁷ Nowhere was this desire more manifest than in the behavior of the lower houses of assembly and of the men who composed them. Because the governors and councils so clearly rested upon a less independent foundation, they might never be more than "imperfect" equivalents of their English counterparts. But the lower houses had so "exact" a "resemblance" to "that part of the British constitution," which they stood for in the colonies that it was entirely plausible to

²⁴ There is no adequate treatment of this phenomenon during the early phase of European expansion, but see Ronald Syme, *Colonial Elites: Rome, Spain and the Americas* (London, 1958), *passim*.

²⁵ There is no comprehensive study of this subject, but see Louis B. Wright, *The First Gentlemen of Virginia: Intellect and Qualities of the Early Colonial Ruling Class* (San Marino, Calif., 1940); Bernard Bailyn, *The New England Merchants in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Mass., 1955); and Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1948).

²⁶ On this point, see esp. A. P. Thornton, *West-India Policy under the Restoration* (Oxford, Eng., 1955); and Michael Garibaldi Hall, *Edward Randolph and the American Colonies, 1676-1703* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1960).

²⁷ The power of this analogy is discussed, perhaps in somewhat exaggerated form, in Bailyn, *Origins of American Politics*, 59-65.

entertain the heady possibility that each of them might indeed come to be the very "epitome of the house of Commons." Because they were "called by the same authority," derived their "power from the same source, [were] instituted for the same ends, and [were] governed by the same forms," there was absolutely no reason why each of them "should not have the same powers . . . and the same rank in the system of" its "little community, as the house of Commons" had "in that of Britain."²⁸

In their attempt to convert this possibility into reality, to model their lower houses as closely as possible after the English House of Commons, colonial legislators had a wide range of sources to draw upon. They had, to begin with, some of the proceedings of the House of Commons as published, for the period from 1618 to the execution of Charles I, along with many other relevant documents in John Rushworth's eight-volume *Historical Collections* (London, 1659-1701) and, for the 1670's and 1680's, in the separately printed journals of each session of the House. They had, as well, much of the vast literature of the Whig opposition to the later Stuarts, including both the major philosophical disquisitions of Henry Neville, Algernon Sydney, and John Locke (each of which carefully defined the functions of the House and elaborated the proper relationship between prerogative and Parliament), and many of the vast number of occasional pieces, some of which were reprinted following the Glorious Revolution in the two-volume collection of *State Tracts* (London, 1689-93) and others of which were later issued together in the sixteen-volume edition of *Somers Tracts* (London, 1748-52).²⁹ Finally, they had such terse and comprehensive statements of Whig theory as Henry Care's *English Liberties: or, The Free-Born Subject's Inheritance* (London, 1682), which was reprinted several times in the colonies; the Whig contributions to the extensive debate over the antiquity of Parliament;³⁰ early Whig histories, especially that of Paul de Rapin-Thoyras, the Huguenot who sailed with William of Orange and who interpreted the events of the seventeenth century from the perspective of the most radical wing of Whig thinkers;³¹ and, probably most important of all, the several parliamentary commentaries and procedural books published in the seventeenth century, including those of William Hakewill,³² Sir Edward Coke,³³ Henry Scobell,³⁴

²⁸ The quotations are from *The Privileges of the Island of Jamaica Vindicated with an Impartial Narrative of the late Dispute between the Governor and House of Representatives* (London, 1766), 33-34. Similar statements are scattered throughout the literature of colonial politics.

²⁹ The best analyses of the content of this literature will be found in Behrens, "Whig Theory of the Constitution"; Furley, "Whig Exclusionists"; and Robbins, *Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman*, 22-87. The best discussion of Locke's ideas is in the introduction to Peter Laslett's edition of *Two Treatises of Government* (Cambridge, Eng., 1960).

³⁰ The standard discussion of these writings is J. G. A. Pocock, *The Ancient Constitution and the Feudal Law: A Study of English Historical Thought in the Seventeenth Century* (Cambridge, Eng., 1957).

³¹ Paul de Rapin-Thoyras, *The History of England, as well ecclesiastical as civil*, tr. Nicholas Tindal (15 vols., London, 1725-31), is the first English edition.

³² William Hakewill, *The Manner of Holding Parliaments in England* (London, 1641).

³³ Sir Edward Coke, *The Fourth Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England* (London, 1644).

³⁴ Henry Scobell, *Memorials of the Method and Manner of Proceedings in Parliament in Passing Bills* (London, 1656).

Henry Elsynge,³⁵ and, most significantly, George Petyt.³⁶ Petyt's work was reprinted by Andrew Bradford in 1716 in both New York and Philadelphia and was the last such treatise of major proportions until John Hatsell published his four-volume work in 1781.³⁷

As Petyt remarked in his preface, these procedural books served as a comprehensive introduction to "*the admirable method of Parliamentary Proceedings; the Exactness and Decency of their Orders; the Wisdom and Prudence of their Customs; the Extent of their Powers; and the Largeness of their Privileges.*" They adumbrated in detail and cited appropriate precedents concerning mechanics of conducting elections, the necessary qualifications for members and electors, the methods of examining election returns and deciding disputed elections, the power of the House over its own members, the method of electing a speaker and the correct way for him to conduct his office, the ways of selection and the roles of other House officers, the proper procedures for passing bills and conducting debates, the several categories of committees and the structure and function of each, the customary form of a session, the privileges of members, and the usual distribution of function and patterns of relationship among the three branches of Parliament.

The importance of such manuals in the exportation of parliamentary government to distant plantations can scarcely be overemphasized. If, as Anthony Stokes later remarked, "the Journals of the Houses of Parliament" were "the precedents by which the Legislatures in the Colonies conduct[ed] themselves,"³⁸ these manuals provided a convenient distillation of the several pertinent matters in those journals. The extent to which colonial legislators probably used them in the process of taking, as the Pennsylvania Speaker David Lloyd phrased it, "their rules from the *House of Commons*," of copying its forms and procedures, may be inferred from the work of several earlier scholars, most notably Mary Patterson Clarke,³⁹ and requires no further comment here.

What has been much less clearly perceived, however, and what, in fact, has

³⁵ Henry Elsynge, *The Ancient Method and Manner of Holding Parliaments in England* (London, 1660).

³⁶ George Petyt, *Lex Parliamentaria: or a Treatise of the Law and Custom of the Parliaments of England* (London, 1689).

³⁷ John Hatsell, *Precedents of Proceedings in the House of Commons* (4 vols., London, 1781). Among the few pieces of literature of this genre to appear in the eighteenth century were Gurdon's *History of the High Court of Parliament*; and Giles Jacob, *Lex Constitutiones: or, The Gentleman's Law* (London, 1719), esp. Chap. III. For a discussion of the changing nature of the interest in such matters from the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, see J. Steven Watson, "Parliamentary Procedure as a Key to the Understanding of Eighteenth Century Politics," *Burke Newsletter*, III (Summer 1962), 108-28.

³⁸ Anthony Stokes, *A View of the Constitution of the British Colonies in North America and the West Indies, at the Time the Civil War broke out on the Continent of America* (London, 1783), 243-44.

³⁹ Mary Patterson Clarke, *Parliamentary Privilege in the American Colonies* (New Haven, Conn., 1943), esp. 1-13. The bibliographical note (pp. 270-87) refers to several other specialized works touching on this point. The quotation is from [David Lloyd,] *Remarks on the late Proceedings of Some Members of Assembly at Philadelphia* (Philadelphia, 1728). Among many similar statements, see [Thomas Nairne,] *A Letter from South Carolina* (London, 1710), 21-22.

been largely missed by earlier writers, is the remarkable extent to which these parliamentary commentaries and the later Stuart opposition literature shaped not merely the form and procedure of the lower houses but also the understanding and behavior of their members. For, in addition to spelling out the method and manner of parliamentary proceedings, they prescribed explicitly and in detail a whole set of generalized and specific institutional imperatives for representative bodies, a particular pattern of behavior for their members, and a concrete program of political action.

The central assumptions behind this prescription were, first, that there was a natural antagonism between the "King's Prerogative" and the "Rights, Liberties and Properties of the People," and, second, that the primary function of the House of Commons, as Henry Care declared, was "to preserve inviolable our Liberty and Property, according to the known Laws of the Land, without any giving way unto or Introduction of that absolute and arbitrary Rule practised in Foreign Countries."⁴⁰ To that end the House was expected always to be careful never to relinquish possession of the "Keys to unlock Peoples Purses" and always to be on the alert for any indications of arbitrary government in order that they might be checked before they could "wound the Body Politick in a vital Part." The role of the House of Commons was thus essentially negative and defensive. To "redress Grievances, to take notice of Monopolies and Oppressions, to curb the Exorbitances of great Favourites, and pernicious Ministers of State, to punish such mighty Delinquents, who are protected by the King, that they look upon themselves too big for the ordinary reach of Justice in Courts of Common Law, to inspect the conduct of such who are intrusted with the Administration of Justice, and interpret the Laws to the prejudice of the People, and those who dispose the publick Treasure of the Nation"—these were the many grave and weighty responsibilities that fell to and could only be handled by that "great Assembly." The House was the subject's single most important governmental hedge against "arbitrary Violence and Oppression" from the prerogative or any other source and final guarantor of the liberty that was the peculiar and precious "Birth-right of Englishmen."⁴¹

Such extraordinary responsibilities required both a strong House of Commons and a membership devoted to maintaining that strength. Voters had, therefore, always to be especially careful to elect only such men to Parliament who had sufficient "Wisdom and Courage" that they could "not be hector'd out of their Duties by the Frowns and Scowls of Men" and who were "resolved to stand by, and maintain the *Power and Privileges of Parliaments*," which were the very "Heart-strings of the Common-Wealth." It was incumbent upon all men elected to "*that honourable Station*" to make sure that they were "*thoroughly*

⁴⁰ Gurdon, *History of the High Court of Parliament*, 415–16; Henry Care, *English Liberties* (4th ed., London, 1719), 164. All citations to Care in this article are to this edition.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 4, 122, 138–39; Petyt, *Lex Parliamentaria*, 19, 24.

skill'd in Parliamentary Affairs, to know their own Laws and Customs, their Powers and Priviledges, that they may not at any time suffer Invasions to be made upon them, by what plausible Pretences soever."⁴²

Because many—perhaps most—of those "Invasions" could be expected to derive directly from and even to be protected by the excessive "Privileges and Prerogatives" invested in the Crown, it was absolutely necessary that the House of Commons have sufficient powers and privileges to contest the Crown on equal, perhaps even superior, grounds. The House had to have legal guarantees that it would meet frequently, have full investigative powers, and have complete control over its own officers.⁴³ Its members must have freedom of speech and debate, freedom from arrest during sessions, and exemption from punishment outside the House for anything said or done in or on behalf of the House. In short, the House had to be a law unto itself responsible only to its constituents and to its own special law, the "Lex & Consuetudo Parliamenti."⁴⁴

Bent upon turning their lower houses into "epitomes of the House of Commons," "so fond," as one Jamaica governor reported, "of the notion to be as near as can be, upon the foott of H[is] M[ajesty's] English subjects that the desire of it allmost distracts them,"⁴⁵ and prone, like all provincials, to take the ideals of their cultural capital far more seriously than they are ever taken in the capital itself, colonial representatives adopted *in toto* this entire system of thought and action along with its patterns of perception and its cluster of imperatives, roles, and conventions. This system supplied them with a special frame of reference, an angle of vision that helped them to put their own problems and actions in historical, seemingly even cosmic, perspective, gave them a standard of behavior, determined how they conceived of the lower houses and of their own political roles, and, most important, shaped into predictable and familiar forms their perceptions of and responses to political events.

So deeply was this system of thought and action imbedded in their political culture that the remembrance of the terrible excesses of Stuart despotism, of those infamous times "when prerogative was unlimited, and liberty undefined" and "arbitrary power, under the shelter of unlimited Prerogative was making large strides over the land," was throughout the eighteenth century always near the surface of political consciousness. Colonial representatives scarcely needed to be reminded of "what extraordinary Progress was made" in the attempt "to raise Royalty above the Laws and Liberties of the People, by the chimerical Ideas of Prerogative" during the "three last hereditary Reigns of the *Stuarts*, what Toil, what Fatigue, what Slaughter the Nation underwent before the Delirium of

⁴² Care, *English Liberties*, 164–67; Petyt, *Lex Parliamentaria*, preface.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 3, 13, 16, 30–31, 132. Petyt was clearly unhappy with the King's prominent role in the choice of speaker, noting that the selection must have been "anciently free to the *Commons*, to choose whom they would of their own House." (*Ibid.*, 132.)

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 9, 36–37, 81–82, 87, 139.

⁴⁵ Duke of Portland to [Lord Carteret?], *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, ed. William Noel Sainsbury *et al.* (43 vols., London, 1860–), 1722–1723, 385.

Charles the 1st, could be vanquished. What Lengths were run, what large Compliances made under *Charles* the Second, . . . how near fatal the Blow was to Freedom and Liberty under his Brother *James*,” and how all of these evil efforts were defeated only because they were “constantly and strictly opposed by Parliament” under the leadership of those noble House of Commons men—Sir John Eliot, Sir Edward Coke, Edward Littleton, John Pym, John Hampden, William Jones—“who stood forth at that critical period, in defense of the Constitution.”⁴⁶

With such vivid memories always before them, colonial legislators had a strong predisposition to look at each governor as a potential Charles I or James II, to assume a hostile posture toward the executive, and to define with the broadest possible latitude the role of the lower house as “the main barrier of all those rights and privileges which British subjects enjoy.”⁴⁷ Ever ready to stand “in the gap against oppression,” they were, in the best tradition of seventeenth-century English opponents of the Crown, constantly worried lest “*Prerogative*” gain “a considerable Advantage over *Liberty*” or a governor extend “his Power, beyond what any King in *England* ever pretended to, even in the most despotick and arbitrary Reigns.”⁴⁸ Especially sensitive to any encroachments “upon their jurisdiction” that might “(if submitted to) strip them of all authority, and [thereby] disable them from either supporting their own dignity or giving the people . . . that protection against arbitrary power, which nothing but a free and independent Assembly” could “give,” they invariably, in imitation of the English House of Commons, opposed all attempts to make innovations “contrary to . . . the constant Practice of all English Assemblies” or “to Govern otherwise than according to the Usage and Custom of the Country since the first Settlement thereof.” In the words of Elisha Cooke, Jr., they “Warily observed and tim[or]ously Prevented” any precedents that might, by making “little Changes in Fundamentals,” lead to the collapse of the whole constitution.⁴⁹ In their determination to discover and root out all examples of arbitrary executive power, they were particularly concerned “to enquire into the abuses and corruptions of office, the obstructions of public justice, and the complaints of subjects, oppressed by the hand of power, and to bring the offenders in such cases to justice.”⁵⁰

⁴⁶ *Privileges of the Island of Jamaica Vindicated*, 8, 11, 13, 28, 36, 66; A New-England Man, *A Letter to the Freeholders and Qualified Voters, Relating to the Ensuing Election* (Boston, 1749), 2.

⁴⁷ Pennsylvania Assembly, *To the Honourable Patrick Gordon, Esq., Lieut. Governor* (Philadelphia, 1728), 6, as quoted by Lawrence H. Leder, *Liberty and Authority: Early American Political Ideology, 1689-1763* (Chicago, 1968), 87.

⁴⁸ *Privileges of the Island of Jamaica Vindicated*, 42; Americanus, *A Letter to the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Massachusetts-Bay relating to their approaching Election of Representatives* ([Boston,] 1739), 111; *A Second Letter from One in the Country to His Friend in Boston* ([Boston,] 1729), 2.

⁴⁹ *Privileges of the Island of Jamaica Vindicated*, 2; *The Remonstrance of Several of the Representatives for Several Counties of the Province of New York being Members of the Present Assembly* (New York, 1698), 1; Resolutions of the Maryland House of Delegates, Oct. 22, 1722, in St. George Leakin Sioussat, *The English Statutes in Maryland* (Baltimore, 1903), 75; Elisha Cooke, *Just and Seasonable Vindication Respecting some Affairs transacted by the late General Assembly at Boston, 1720* ([Boston, 1720]), 14.

⁵⁰ *Privileges of the Island of Jamaica Vindicated*, 51.

The governors of the colonies themselves encouraged colonial representatives in this conception of the function of the lower houses and the mode of behavior it implied. For the legislators were not the only group imprisoned by the rhetoric, anxieties, and peculiar political myopia of Stuart England. Like the Stuart monarchs and their supporters, governors, occupying similar roles in the political order, could scarcely avoid interpreting any questioning of executive actions and any opposition to gubernatorial programs or imperial directives as, covertly and fundamentally at least, a challenge to the essential prerogatives of the Crown or proprietors. From every colony came charges from the governors and their adherents that the lower houses were "exceeding their due and reasonable Bounds; strengthening themselves with pretences of publick Good and their own Privileges as the Representatives of the People." Everywhere, the executive complained that the lower houses were declaring "themselves a House of Commons," assuming "all the Privileges of it, and" acting "with a much more unlimited Authority." It was widely echoed, and believed, that the lower houses, like the first Long Parliament in the "Period that every good Man wishes could be struck out of our Annals," were actually endeavoring "to wrest the small Remains of Power out of the Hands of the Crown," "to assume the Executive Power of the Government into their own Hands," and perhaps even "to weaken, if not entirely to cast off, the Obedience they owe to the Crown, and the Dependence which all Colonies ought to have on their Mother Country." From the governors' chairs, the leaders of the legislative opposition appeared to be not patriots struggling in the glorious cause of liberty but exactly as the leaders of the House of Commons had seemed to the Stuarts: "designing and malicious Men imposing upon, and deluding the People" until they were "so far infatuated, as to seem insensible of their . . . true interest."⁵¹ Every recalcitrant lower house appeared to be bent on pursuing "the example of the parliament of 1641" and every leader to be "a great Magna-Carta Man & Petition-of-Right-maker" determined to persuade his fellow legislators "to dance after the Long Parliament's pipe."⁵² Both sides, then, were playing out roles and operating within a conception of politics that derived directly from the revolutionary situation in Stuart England, a conception

⁵¹ The quotations are from *The Representation and Memorial of the Council of the Island of Jamaica to the Right Honourable The Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations* (London, 1716), ii, iv, 14; Governor James Glen to Commons House, Sept. 20, 1755, *Journals of the South Carolina Commons House*, Jan.-May 1754, Colonial Office Papers, Class 5/472, 6-7; and a speech of Governor Jonathan Belcher to the Massachusetts General Assembly, Oct. 2, 1730, reprinted in *Extracts from the Political State of Great Britain, December 1730* ([Boston, 1731]), 4-5. For many similar characterizations of the lower houses and their leaders by governors and their supporters, see Sir William Beeston to Board of Trade, Aug. 19, 1701, *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial*, 1701, ed. Sainsbury *et al.*, 424-25; Lord Cornbury to Board of Trade, Nov. 6, 1704, Feb. 19, 1705, *ibid.*, 1704-1705, 308-309, 386; Samuel Shute to Crown, [Aug. 16, 1723,] *ibid.*, 1722-1723, 324-30; Henry Worsley to Duke of Newcastle, Aug. 4, 1727, *ibid.*, 1726-1727, 325-26; *The Honest Man's Interest As he Claims any Lands in the Counties of New-Castle, Kent, or Sussex, on Delaware* ([Philadelphia, 1726]), 1.

⁵² Francis Lord Willoughby to King, Aug. 8, 1665, Colonial Office Papers, Class 1/19, No. 92, as quoted in Thornton, *West-India Policy*, 65; Lewis Morris to Board of Trade, June 10, 1743, *The Papers of Lewis Morris, Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society* (14 vols., Newark, 1852-1965), IV, 162.

that conditioned them to view politics as a continuing struggle between prerogative and liberty, between executive and legislative power.

For governors and legislators alike, this conception of their behavior and their disagreements gave them an enlarged purpose that transcended the narrow bounds of their several localities and, by investing their actions with national—not to say, universal—meaning, linked them directly to their cultural inheritance as Englishmen, gave them a more secure sense of who and what they were, and helped to satisfy their deepest mimetic impulses. What was equally important, at least in the case of the legislators, that enlarged purpose also supplied them and their institutions with the prestige, standing, and political power within their respective communities, which seem to be so necessary to the psychological needs of emergent elites.

But the fact that this specific conception of politics had such a powerful hold on men's minds in England at exactly the same time that colonial legislators were self-consciously beginning to cultivate English political values and to imitate the procedures and behavior of the House of Commons does not completely account for the adoption of that conception in the colonies. What also accounts for its adoption as well as for its continued vitality in the colonies long after it had become in England little more than a series of political clichés and hackneyed constitutionalisms that were largely irrelevant to the realities of political life was the survival in the colonies during the eighteenth century of the very conditions and circumstances that had initially spawned it in seventeenth-century England. For, as Bailyn has recently reminded us,⁵³ explicit restrictions of the kind Parliament successfully imposed upon the prerogative in England following the Glorious Revolution were never achieved in the colonies. As a result, the institutional cooperation made possible by the revolutionary settlement in England was rarely attainable in the colonies, and the specter of unlimited prerogative thus continued to haunt colonial legislators.

For legislators "in love with . . . [the English] Constitution," striving diligently to achieve a "form of government" that resembled "that of England, as nearly as the condition of a dependent Colony" could "be brought to resemble, that of its mother country," and culturally programmed to be ever on guard against the dangers of unlimited prerogative,⁵⁴ this situation was a source of perpetual anxiety. Not only did it directly frustrate their mimetic impulses by blatantly reminding them of the great gap between their aspirations and reality; it also put them into continual fear lest some evil governor employ his excessive power to introduce the most pernicious form of tyranny. It seemed absolutely inexplicable, as an anonymous Jamaican declared in 1714, "that in all the Revolutions of State, and Changes of the Ministry" in England since the Restoration "the several

⁵³ Bailyn, *Origins of American Politics*, 66–71.

⁵⁴ Fayer Hall, *The Importance of the British Plantations in America to the Kingdom* (London, 1731), 24; *Privileges of the Island of Jamaica Vindicated*, 31.

Colonies which compose the *British Empire in America*" and were inhabited by supposedly freeborn Englishmen "should . . . lye still so much neglected, under such a precarious Government and greivous [*sic*] Administration, as they have, for the most part, labour'd under, both before and since the late signal Revolution."⁵⁵ Indeed, from the perspective of that Revolution in which the rights and privileges of subjects in England had been so fully "confirmed; and the knavish Chicanes, and crafty Inventions, that were introduced to deprive the Subject of his Rights . . . abolished," it seemed especially grievous—and frighteningly dangerous—"that a Governour of any Colony . . . so far distant from the Seat of Redress . . . should be vested with a Power to govern, in a more absolute and unlimited manner there, than even the Queen herself can, according to Law, or ever did attempt to exercise in *Great Britain*," that a lower house should have "less Sway and Weight" in a colony "than the *House of Commons* had in *Great Britain*."⁵⁶

The dangers of this situation were not merely imaginary. They were vividly confirmed by the many "Instances" in which both royal and proprietary governors, lacking in many cases even a remote sense of identity of interests with the colonists, had used their preponderant powers "to gripe and squeeze the People . . . for [no] . . . other Reason, than their own private Gain," "usurped more Authority than [even theoretically] belonged to them," and attempted to exercise "Arbitrary Power, unknown in our Mother-Country since the glorious Revolution of 1688." It was well known "that all [of the many] Contentions and Animosities . . . between the Governour and Inhabitants of" the colonies took "their first Rise, from some grievous and intolerable Acts of Oppression, in the Administration." As Richard Jackson remarked, it was the governors who always acted the "*offensive Part*," who "set up unwarrantable Claims" and employed "Snares, Menaces, Aspersions, Tumults, and every other unfair Practice" in an attempt either to bully or to wheedle "the Inhabitants out of the Privileges they were born to." Like the House of Commons, the lower houses thus always acted "on the *defensive only*"; their members courageously struggled with true British patriotism against the wicked machinations of "hungry, ignorant, or extravagant" governors and their "crafty, active, knavish . . . , servile, fawning" adherents, the very "trash of mankind" who alone would enter into such unsavory alliances against the people's rights and liberties as represented by the lower houses.⁵⁷

Whatever images they held of themselves, however, colonial representatives could not, in the situation, act "on the *defensive only*." Precisely because the

⁵⁵ *The Groans of Jamaica, Express'd in a Letter from a Gentleman Residing there, to his Friend in London* (London, 1714), iv.

⁵⁶ Daniel Dulany, *The Right of the Inhabitants of Maryland to the Benefit of the English Laws* (Annapolis, 1728), 17; *Second Letter*, 2; *Groans of Jamaica*, vi.

⁵⁷ The quotations are from *An Essay upon the Government of the English Plantations on the Continent of America* (London, 1701), written by an anonymous Virginian and reprinted in a modern edition by Louis B. Wright (San Marino, Calif., 1945), 11, 21; *A New-England-Man*,

King's governors claimed to "be more Absolute in the Plantations than" the King himself was "in England," because some governors actually sought to use their exorbitant powers to increase the prerogative at the expense of liberty, and because, as a Barbadian complained in 1719, it was not always possible to secure redress against such grievances in London in face of the superior influence of the governors with men in power—for all of these reasons so "generally [well] Known in *America*" the lower houses found themselves—and were frequently and correctly accused of—trying to secure checks on the prerogative and power over executive affairs well beyond any exercised by the House of Commons. It was "a received opinion" that "Right without Power to maintain it, is the Derision and Sport of Tyrants."⁵⁸ To defend such deviations from the imperial norm, colonial legislators were forced to fall back upon that ultimate defense of the seventeenth-century House of Commons, "*Perpetual Usage*" and "established custom," and to claim that, like the Commons, each legislature had a "*Lex & Consuetudo Parliamenti*" of its own.⁵⁹ Despite the depth and genuineness of their imitative impulses, the mimesis of the House of Commons by the colonial lower houses and of the imperial government by the several provincial governments could never be exact because of the Crown's exaggerated claims for prerogative in the plantations and the immoderate responses those claims evoked from the legislatures. The result, a source of amusement, derision, and amazement among imperial administrative supporters in the colonies, was the ironic spectacle of men determined to form their "Assemblies . . . on the Plan of an *English Parliament*" forced into defending their peculiar practices on the obvious grounds that it was "altogether . . . absurd to prescribe [exactly] the same form of government to people differently circumstanced."⁶⁰

The lower houses in most colonies were able through such innovative practices to bridle the governors, both because, unlike the king, the governors were never protected from attack by the aura of the concept that the king could do no wrong and because, as Bailyn has so fully and effectively argued, most gov-

Letter to the Freeholders, 5; *Groans of Jamaica*, iv-v; [Richard Jackson,] *An Historical Review of Pennsylvania from its Origin* (Philadelphia, 1812), 378-79; *A Representation of the Miserable State of Barbadoes Under the Arbitrary and Corrupt Administration of his Excellency, Robert Lowther, Esq; the present Governor* (London, 1719), esp. 22-23; "Considerations of the present Benefit and better Improvement of the English Colonies in America," [1690's,] Historical Manuscripts Commission, *Report of the Manuscripts of the Duke of Buccleuch and Queensberry* (3 vols., London, 1899-1926), II, Pt. 2, 737; Morris to Secretary of State, Feb. 9, 1707, *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York*, ed. E. B. O'Callaghan and Berthold Fernow (15 vols., Albany, 1856-87), V, 37.

⁵⁸ *Essay upon Government*, 17; *Representation of the Miserable State of Barbadoes*, 32-33; [Nairne,] *Letter from South Carolina*, 21-22, 26-27; A New-England-Man, *Letter to the Freeholders*, 5.

⁵⁹ Examples may be seen in Cooke, *Just and Seasonable Vindication*, 3, 9; and Henry Wilkinson, "The Governor, the Council & Assembly in Bermuda during the First Half of the Eighteenth Century," *Bermuda Historical Quarterly*, II (Apr. 1945), 69-84, esp. 81-84.

⁶⁰ The quotations are from [Lloyd,] *Remarks on the Late Proceedings*, as quoted by Roy N. Lokken, *David Lloyd: Colonial Lawmaker* (Seattle, Wash., 1959), 230; and *Pennsylvania Gazette* (Philadelphia), Mar. 28, 1738, as quoted by Leder, *Liberty and Authority*, 103; see also [Nairne,] *Letter from South Carolina*, 21-22, 25-26; and Lewis Evans, "A Brief Account of Pennsylvania," 1753, in Lawrence Henry Gipson, *Lewis Evans* (Philadelphia, 1939), 131-34.

ernors did not have at their command those "devices by which in England the executive" was able to exert its control over politics and secure its goals. But this ability to restrain the governors never completely allayed the colonial legislators' fears of prerogative power and arbitrary government. As long as the Crown or proprietors refused to abandon the claims of such extravagant powers for their governors or to recognize the actual limitations imposed upon the prerogative by the lower houses, there was always the terrifying possibility that imperial authorities might unleash the unlimited might of the parent state to enforce its claims, perhaps even by bringing the force of Parliament itself against the lower houses.⁶¹ Although some colonial leaders wishfully hoped that "*that August Assembly*, the Protectors of English Liberties," might actually side with its sister institutions in the colonies, there was an uneasy awareness as well of "how deeply" parliamentary intervention might "enter into our *Constitution* and affect our most *valuable privileges*." Such extreme vulnerability meant, of course, that colonial legislators could never feel entirely secure "against the assaults of arbitrary power . . . [upon] their lives, their liberties, or their properties."⁶²

The resulting anxiety, only partly conscious and appropriately expressed through the classic arguments of the seventeenth-century opposition to the Stuarts, ensured that, at least until such a time as the colonies were granted "a free Constitution of Government" equivalent to that enjoyed by Englishmen at home, those arguments would continue to be especially relevant to colonial politics and to give form and coherence to much of its outward appearance. However, because those arguments and the conception of politics from which they derived were seemingly so explanatory of the peculiar circumstances of colonial politics and apparently so well suited to meet the psychological needs produced by these circumstances, they became so integral a part of colonial political culture and so determinative of the sensibilities of colonial politicians that they ran far "deeper than the Surface of things."⁶³ They ran so deep, in fact, that they created a strong predisposition to interpret virtually all political conflict as struggles between prerogative and liberty. Even factional fights over tangible economic issues that obviously cut across institutional lines and had nothing ostensible to do with constitutional questions were perceived as, and thereby to some extent actually converted into, such struggles.

It is important, of course, to keep in mind that in colonial, as in all, politics there was frequently, if not invariably, a considerable difference between the ostensible and the real; any comprehensive interpretation will have to distinguish between and describe both "the dress parade of debate" and "the program of

⁶¹ Bailyn, *Origins of American Politics*, 70–105; review of Spurdle, *Early West Indian Government*, 149.

⁶² *A Letter to a Gentleman Chosen to be a Member of the Honourable House of Representatives to be Assembled at Boston* ([Boston, 1731]), 7–8, 14–15; *Privileges of the Island of Jamaica Vindicated*, 27–28, 45.

⁶³ The quotations are from *Essay upon Government*, 20; and Isaac Norris, *Friendly Advice to the Inhabitants of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1710), 2.

opportunistic political tactics” and concrete social and economic interests that lay behind that debate.⁶⁴ But it is equally important to comprehend the powerful hold of this older opposition political conception upon the minds of colonial politicians and the remarkable extent to which it conditioned them to conceive of and to explain—even to themselves—behavior and actions arising out of the most self-interested and sordid ambitions as essential contributions to the Englishman’s heroic struggle against the evils of unlimited prerogative.

But the hold of this older political conception upon colonial politicians was not so powerful as to prevent them from receiving and employing later English conceptions. Through the middle decades of the eighteenth century, the economies of the home islands and the colonies became ever more tightly connected, the last two intercolonial wars provided a new and compelling focus of common attention,⁶⁵ and the colonial elites developed an increasing cultural and political self-consciousness and became more aware of the great social gulf between the colonies and Britain.⁶⁶ As a result, the attractive force of English culture and the explicit desires of the elites to cultivate English styles and values and to Anglicize their societies greatly intensified. Under certain conditions, this intensification of colonial mimetic impulses led to the supplementation and, in a few cases, the virtual submersion of the older seventeenth-century political tradition by either, or parts of both, of two newer systems of political thought imported directly from Walpolean England. This process of supplementation and submersion was rendered especially easy because of the close similarity among the older and newer traditions of basic assumptions about human nature, the corrosive effects of unbridled power, the functions of governments and constitutions, and the preferred qualities for rulers.

The first of these traditions, which Bailyn has labeled “mainstream thought,” was developed by administrative supporters in the half century after the Glorious Revolution and especially during Walpole’s ministry. Within the House of Commons itself, this tradition was fostered by and epitomized by the behavior of Arthur Onslow, who was speaker continuously from 1727 to 1761. He enjoyed a great reputation in both Britain and the colonies and served as a model for speakers of the colonial lower houses. The nuances of this tradition cannot be described here, but its central imperative was the desirability of institu-

⁶⁴ The quotation is from Spencer, “Rise of the Assembly,” 197.

⁶⁵ The role of the intercolonial wars in intensifying British patriotism and a concern for things British among the colonists is described by Max Savelle, *Seeds of Liberty: The Genesis of the American Mind* (New York, 1948); and Richard L. Merritt, *Symbols of American Community, 1735-1775* (New Haven, Conn., 1966).

⁶⁶ See the perceptive reflection by [Sir Egerton Leigh,] *Considerations on Certain Political Transactions in the Province of South Carolina* (London, 1774), 27, upon “what slow advances *Infant Societies* of Men make towards Regularity or Perfection; that in the first outset they are occupied in providing for their necessary wants, and securing their protection; the niceties and punctilios of Public Business never enter their heads, till they have brought their Colony to such an outward state that they feel some *Self-conceit* has crept into their hearts; then it is that Men begin to give polish to their Acts, and to be emulous of Fame.”

tional cooperation among all branches of government.⁶⁷ Governors and administrative supporters in all the colonies cultivated this ideal in every sort of political situation. But the ideal could only become the dominant political tradition—among legislators as well as among the administration—in colonies where there was no threat from the prerogative either through direct challenges made by governors who were intent upon exercising the full range of their assigned powers or through the corruption or manipulation of the legislature through the use of patronage.

Among the mainland colonies, at least, such a situation existed only in Virginia. There, Lieutenant Governor William Gooch had practically no patronage at his disposal to raise fears of undue executive influence and had sufficiently strong connections at home to keep the Board of Trade from insisting that he take steps to obtain legislative recognition of his assigned prerogative powers. By cooperating closely with Sir John Randolph and John Robinson, two speakers of the House of Burgesses who were obviously inspired by and frequently compared to the great Onslow, Gooch managed both to extirpate faction in the colony and to gain such widespread acceptance of the theory of institutional cooperation as to avoid almost all conflict with the legislature and seriously to undermine the older conception that politics was a struggle between prerogative and liberty.⁶⁸

The second tradition was, of course, that of the Walpolean opposition, which has been so fully and penetratingly analyzed by Bailyn, J. G. A. Pocock, Caroline Robbins, Isaac Kramnick, and others that it requires little elaboration here.⁶⁹ What I would like to call attention to, however, is the emphasis in this tradition upon the necessity of maintaining a clear separation of powers and upon the dangers of executive influence in the House of Commons. To some degree, of course, the theory of balanced government was integral to every English political tradition from the middle of the seventeenth to the early part of the nineteenth century, and colonials had conventionally employed it in political arguments. Even such a militant antiprerogative politician as Elisha Cooke, Jr., subscribed to it. In 1720 he wrote that “the Kings Prerogative when rightly used, is for the good & benefit of the People, and the Liberties and Properties of the People are for the Support of the Crown, and the Kings Prerogative when not abused.”⁷⁰

⁶⁷ This tradition has never been fully analyzed, but Kramnick, *Bolingbroke and His Circle*, 111–36, is a good brief introduction.

⁶⁸ The content of this tradition and conditions under which it took root in Virginia are described at length in the early chapters of a book I am currently preparing, in collaboration with Keith B. Berwick, on Virginia political culture in the eighteenth century. For contemporary statements, see the speeches of Randolph, Aug. 24, 1734, Aug. 6, 1736, in *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1727–1740*, ed. John Pendleton Kennedy and Henry R. McIlwain (Richmond, 1910), 175–77, 241–43.

⁶⁹ Bailyn, *Ideological Origins*, 22–93; J. G. A. Pocock, “Machiavelli, Harrington, and English Political Ideologies in the Eighteenth Century,” *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., XXII (Oct. 1965), 547–83; Robbins, *Eighteenth-Century Commonwealthman*, esp. 271–319; Kramnick, *Bolingbroke and His Circle*, esp. 84–110, 137–87, 205–60.

⁷⁰ Cooke, *Just and Seasonable Vindication*, 18.

Significantly, however, most colonial legislators, like Cooke, seem to have employed the idea of balance primarily as a defense of liberty and property against prerogative.⁷¹ Confronted as they were with executive claims for such extensive prerogative powers, they manifested little interest in imposing any restraints upon their own legislative powers. Indeed, as Corinne Comstock Weston has implied in her revealing study, *English Constitutional Theory and the House of Lords, 1556-1832*, that theory seems to have been attractive primarily to groups whose powers or prerogatives were under attack and who were operating from a position of practical political weakness. Just as Charles I, seeking to stem the assault of the first Long Parliament, was chiefly responsible for popularizing and thrusting into the center of political consciousness the doctrine of balanced government in England during the seventeenth century,⁷² so in the colonies during the eighteenth century the governors and various administrative adherents in places where the executive was unusually weak—men such as Cadwallader Colden and Archibald Kennedy in New York and James Logan and the Reverend William Smith in Pennsylvania—were its earliest and most vociferous exponents and were most deeply committed to it.⁷³

Among the colonial political community at large, however, it appears to have received primary emphasis only where the threat of administrative corruption of the legislature was sufficiently great to make the desirability of a strict separation of powers especially obvious. Such a situation seems to have existed in Maryland, where the proprietor always had extensive patronage at his command;⁷⁴ in New Hampshire, where after 1750 Governor Benning Wentworth established a powerful patronage machine;⁷⁵ in New York, where in the 1740's and 1750's James De Lancey, first as chief justice and then as lieutenant governor, managed to achieve such an invulnerable position in the government that he was able to establish a system very much resembling a "Robinarchical" corruption;⁷⁶ and, pre-eminently, in Massachusetts, where William Shirley, governor from 1741 to 1756, put together a peculiar combination of superb talents for political management, strong connections in Britain, and local patronage sufficient to enable him to secure an effective "influence" over the Massachusetts legislature.⁷⁷

⁷¹ It is probably also true that the balance that interested colonial legislators most was not the classic English mixture of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, which, because of the absence of any social base for an aristocratic branch of government in the colonies, was of doubtful applicability, but, as one anonymous South Carolinian phrased it, the "proper [for the colonies] balance of power between the crown and people." (*South Carolina Gazette* [Suppl.], May 13, 1756.) Among many other expressions of a similar idea from widely varying sources, see Thomas Foxcraft, *God the Judge, putting down One, and setting up Another* (Boston, 1727), iii; *The Crisis* ([Boston,] 1754); and Lewis Evans, "A Brief Account of Pennsylvania," 1753, in Gipson, *Lewis Evans*, 131-34.

⁷² Corinne Comstock Weston, *English Constitutional Theory and the House of Lords, 1556-1832* (New York, 1965), esp. 5-6, 26-28, 32-33.

⁷³ See Saville, *Seeds of Liberty*, 298-304.

⁷⁴ See Donnell M. Owings, *His Lordship's Patronage: Offices of Profit in Colonial Maryland* (Baltimore, 1953).

⁷⁵ Jere R. Daniell, "Politics in New Hampshire under Governor Benning Wentworth, 1741-1767," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., XXIII (Jan. 1966), 76-105.

⁷⁶ Bailyn, *Origins of American Politics*, 107-14.

⁷⁷ John M. Murrin, "From Corporate Empire to Revolutionary Republic: The Transformation of

In such a situation the real danger of "Subversion and Change of the Constitution" derived not from "the Wantonness and Violence of Prerogative," but from "the Power of the People trusted with their Representatives," and the charges of conspiracy, corruption, and influence associated with the Walpolean opposition and the whole system of thought connected with them took on a heightened relevance. Shirley's Massachusetts provided real substance to the charge that there was a "*deep Plot*" among "all the Men *in the P—v—ce of the Massachusetts* that have grown very remarkably Rich and Great, High, and Proud, since the Year 1742," who "by Cunning, and by Power; through Lust of Power, Lust of Fame, Lust of Money," and "love of *Prerogative*"; "through Envy, Pride, Covetousness, and *violent Ambition*" were intent upon "killing . . . our CONSTITUTION," destroying the very "Freedom, the Liberty and Happiness of the People of *New-England*." In such a situation, in which a grasping administration was intent upon corrupting the whole legislature, the legislature could no longer be trusted to safeguard the constitution. That responsibility then fell directly upon the people, who were urged to bind their representatives by positive and inflexible instructions to prevent them from selling their constituents' liberty for pelf or position.⁷⁸

The extraordinary flowering in Shirley's Massachusetts of political literature cast in the intellectual mold of the Walpolean opposition suggests the possibility that prior to 1763 the ideas of that opposition were fully relevant to and predominant in only those colonial political situations that bore some reasonable resemblance to that of Walpole's England. These were situations in which the administration actually had at its command many of the devices of the informal constitution which Walpole had used to give his administration its effective influence over Parliament and to achieve that "high degree of public harmony" and "peaceful integration of political forces" that, much to the chagrin and worry of the opposition, accounted for the stability and marked the success of his ministry. If this suggestion turns out to be true, if the acceptance and widespread utilization of the political conceptions of the Walpolean opposition prior to 1763 were concentrated in, or even limited to, those places where the governors had enough practical political power to enable them to dominate the lower houses and where an informal constitution similar to the one that existed in England was most fully developed, then Bailyn's arguments that the Walpolean opposition tradition became dominant everywhere in the colonies during the decades before the Revolution and that the "swollen claims and shrunken powers" of the executive were among the most important sources of that development may have to be substantially qualified.⁷⁹

the Structure and Concept of Federalism," unpublished paper read at the Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, New York City, Dec. 30, 1966.

⁷⁸ A New-England-Man, *Letter to the Freeholders*, 6; Vincent Centinel, *Massachusetts in Agony: or, Important Hints to the Inhabitants of the Province* (Boston, 1750), 4, 8, 9, 12; *A Letter to the Freeholders and Other Inhabitants of this Province* ([Boston,] 1742), 8.

⁷⁹ Bailyn, *Origins of American Politics*, 63, 96.

I would suggest, in fact, that before the 1760's in most colonies both the mainstream and opposition Walpolean traditions supplemented rather than supplanted the older tradition of the seventeenth-century opposition to the Stuarts. The older tradition had been so institutionalized in colonial politics and so internalized among colonial politicians that it could never really be displaced until the conditions that had given rise to and nourished it had disappeared, until "the principles of the British constitution" had been fully extended to the colonies and, as James Otis remarked as late as 1762, "all plantation Governors" had resolved to "practice upon those principles, instead (as most of them do) of spending their whole time in extending the prerogative beyond all bounds."⁸⁰ In Virginia, even while Randolph was praising Lieutenant Governor Gooch for his mild administration and dilating upon the necessity and virtues of cooperation between legislature and executive, he worried about "those Governors" elsewhere "who make Tyranny their Glory." How close the fears of unlimited prerogative remained to the surface of Virginia politics was dramatically revealed during the early 1750's in the pistole fee controversy when Gooch's successor, Robert Dinwiddie, tried to levy a fee without the consent of the House of Burgesses.⁸¹ Similarly, in Shirley's Massachusetts the Walpolean opposition fear of the administration's influence, of "an ambitious or designing Governour" who might "be able to *corrupt* or *awe* your Representatives," was often—and probably usually—combined with the older concerns about the "large Strides Prerogative" was "daily making towards absolute and despotick Power,"⁸² much in the same way that earlier in the century the apprehensions of prerogative had frequently been accompanied by complaints that avaricious courtiers were assisting prerogative in its unending efforts to "compleat" its "Conquest . . . over Liberty."⁸³

What finally led to the submersion of the older opposition tradition and what rendered the Walpolean mainstream tradition totally irrelevant was the series of restrictive measures taken by Crown and Parliament against the colonies after 1763. Even farther removed from the center of politics than the English opposition, the colonists, as Bailyn has so brilliantly and convincingly argued, could only interpret British behavior in opposition terms. Even then, however, it was not the corruption of local legislatures by local executives about which they were primarily worried, nor was it the relevance of the message of the Walpolean opposition to local politics that made it so attractive to them. Rather, it was the

⁸⁰ James Otis, *A Vindication of the Conduct of the House of Representatives of the Province of the Massachusetts-Bay* (Boston, 1762), 51.

⁸¹ Speech of Randolph, Aug. 6, 1736, *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Virginia, 1727-1740*, ed. Kennedy and McIlwain, 242. On the pistole fee controversy, see Jack P. Greene, "The Case of the Pistole Fee," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, LXVI (Oct. 1958), 399-422.

⁸² See, e.g., A New-England-Man, *Letter to the Freeholders*; L. Quincius Cincinnatus, *A Letter to the Freeholders and other Inhabitants of the Massachusetts Bay* (Boston, 1748); *A Letter to the Freeholders*, 9; and *The Crisis*. The quotations are from Americanus, *A Letter to the Freeholders* (1739), 5, 11. This pamphlet is an excellent example of the uneasy and even awkward superimposition of the new opposition fears of influence upon the older opposition apprehensions about prerogative.

⁸³ Among many examples, see Samuel Mulford's *Speech to the Assembly at New-York* ([New York,] 1714), esp. 6-7. The quotation is from *A Letter to the Freeholders* (1742), 4.

corruption of Parliament by the ministry and the extraordinary extent to which that corruption seemed to explain what was being done to the colonies by the imperial government. Even after 1763, however, the submersion of the older tradition by the newer was not total. Because so many of the objectionable measures of the British government between 1763 and 1776 stemmed directly from the Crown and were immediate challenges to the customary powers of the colonial lower houses, the old fears of unlimited prerogative persisted. The Declaration of Independence can and must be read as an indictment of not merely a corrupt Parliament under the influence of a wicked king but also of the unjust and arbitrary misuse of the royal prerogative to undermine the liberties of the people and their lower houses.⁸⁴

The degree to which this seventeenth-century conception of politics as a continual struggle between prerogative and liberty was fundamental to the political system of the old British Empire is perhaps best indicated by the fact that the conception continued to exercise a powerful sway over men's minds and to have an important influence in political life in all of those colonies that did not revolt as long as the old pattern of political and constitutional relationships persisted. Over sixty years after the American Revolution it was still true, as Lord Durham reported in 1839, that "it may fairly be said . . . that the natural state of government in all these colonies is that of collision between the executive and representative body."⁸⁵ That such collisions were the "natural state of government" in the older colonies in the eighteenth century as well was the reason why the tradition of the seventeenth-century opposition to the Stuarts continued down to the early 1760's to be such a primary element in colonial political culture and profound shaping influence upon the behavior of colonial legislators.

⁸⁴ See Greene, *Quest for Power*, ix-x, 438-53; and, for a similar argument, Edward Dumbauld, *The Declaration of Independence and What It Means Today* (Norman, Okla., 1950).

⁸⁵ As quoted by Sir Alan Burns, "The History of Commonwealth Parliaments," in *Parliament as an Export*, ed. Sir Alan Burns (London, 1966), 20.

A Comment

BERNARD BAILYN

THERE is no point in attempting to comment in any detail on the various arguments and accusations in Mr. Greene's article, but there are two underlying misconceptions that I think are of general interest and for that reason deserve particular comment.

1) No one can doubt—it certainly never occurred to me to doubt—that the eighteenth-century beliefs I emphasized in my *Origins of American Politics* were based on seventeenth-century notions of the threat of prerogative power to liberty and reflect the ancient struggle between king and Commons. It seems to me self-evident, and I cannot see why anyone needs to argue the point, that eighteenth-century opposition views absorbed, supplemented, and updated older, seventeenth-century views. This “older” opposition ideology, far from being submerged and superseded (something I never claimed), remained very much alive, in modified and modernized form. The late seventeenth-century and early eighteenth-century opposition writers whom I have discussed carried forward this ancient fear of autocracy in new, more up-to-date, and realistic form. And these new forms were as relevant in the colonies as they were in England for the very good reason that no one in the colonies mistook governors for the King and everyone knew the prerogatives of the Crown itself had been reduced by the Glorious Revolution; no one consequently worried in seventeenth-century terms about the direct and immediate force of Crown prerogatives as such—in the colonies any more than in England. What they were worried about in both places was not the direct autocracy of George I or George II but the manipulation, corruption, and misuse of executive powers by Crown underlings, unworthy Crown adherents: ministers in England, venal governors in the colonies. Hence the whole crucial subject of corruption, in the precise up-to-date terms that were worked out, as J. G. A. Pocock has demonstrated, during and after the Exclusion Crisis and that formed the core of opposition attacks on the eighteenth-century ministries, lay at the heart of colonial political thought. For this reason, if for no other, the opposition literature fitted the needs of the colonial legislative leaders—fitted them in some cases more precisely than it did opposition leaders in England (see, for example, the peculiar political relevance of the much-reprinted essay from *Cato's Letters* I quoted on pp. 137–38 nn.)—and was used continuously, in a conflation of terminology and reference, with the heightened meaning that I tried to explain in my book.

And it was used generally. Mr. Greene attempts to reduce the applicability of these ideas to colonies in which gubernatorial patronage powers approximated in their political effect the power of the Crown's "influence" in Parliament, and he sets up the correlation: the greater the gubernatorial patronage the greater the use of this literature. This is mistaken in conception and insupportable in fact. For, first, though there were degrees of difference in gubernatorial patronage in the colonies, in only one or two colonies, and at particular points only, did patronage approximate in its political force the relative power of the Crown's patronage in England—a fact that Mr. Greene himself incidentally admits. Second, the applicability of opposition arguments in the colonies did not rest on the governors' use of patronage power alone; it rested as well on the mere existence of irresponsible and corruptible, if not actually corrupt, gubernatorial proconsuls, whether they had much patronage or not, and hence was generalized through the culture. Third, there is in fact no such correlation as Mr. Greene claims: the use of opposition writings was if anything *less* prominent in New Hampshire, where, late in the colonial period, the governor's patronage power was extremely high, than it was in South Carolina, where patronage barely existed at all. James De Lancey may seem to Mr. Greene to have controlled the legislature in New York in quasi-Walpolean fashion, but twenty years earlier William Cosby did not, though it was then that the opposition made the most celebrated use of the anti-Walpolean literature. Each of the examples Mr. Greene passingly cites can be similarly refuted.

And far from the relevance of seventeenth-century ideas giving way finally to the eighteenth-century opposition ideas only in the revolutionary crisis, something like the exact opposite would seem to be true. The colonists felt they were re-enacting the seventeenth-century struggle most precisely not in the benign reigns of George I and George II, when the political evils they experienced were known to be the work of corrupt underlings, but when they were—reluctantly and late in the revolutionary agitation—forced to believe that George III, like Charles I and James II before him, was himself directly involved in an autocratic venture against constituted liberties, especially those associated with legislative rights.

Yet Mr. Greene has much documentation. What does it prove? It proves, yet once again, that that familiar old phenomenon, the Rise of the Assembly, really took place. The Rise of the Assembly undeniably took place, and it undeniably involved the multiple re-enactment on a provincial scale of a phase of seventeenth-century English constitutional history—undeniably on both points because Mary P. Clarke, following Charles M. Andrews, established it all, in the terms Mr. Greene is using, twenty-five years ago in her *Parliamentary Privilege in the American Colonies*, and because more recently Mr. Greene too has written a substantial book on the subject. But the process of politics is not explained by it.

2) Mr. Greene's charge that, knowing what I wanted to prove, I looked only where I was likely to find what I was after—in the pamphlets and newspapers—

is not only false as a matter of fact but misconceived as an approach to the questions involved. For the argument rests on the presumption that politicians dealing with the hard realities of politics thought one thing, drew on one body of ideas and developed them, while the pamphleteers and newspaper writers thought another way, drew on another body of ideas and developed them. But were there different groups saying different things in different places in these minuscule political communities? No one knows better than Mr. Greene that James Bland and Landon Carter were the political leaders in the House of Burgesses who led the opposition to Robert Dinwiddie over the pistole fee and to the clergy over the Two-Penny Acts: who but the same two men were the opposition pamphleteers? Who actually struggled against the De Lancey interest in the bitter political infighting in New York in the early 1750's and after? William Livingston, William Smith, and John Morin Scott—were they mere *littérateurs*? mere belletrist-plagiarists of Trenchard and Gordon? Were the writers who used *Cato's Letters* to argue in newspapers against William Shirley in Massachusetts simply pundits, uninvolved in legislative politics? Were not Lewis Morris and the other newspaper polemicists who struggled in print against Cosby, politicians—indeed, the principal politicians of the time?

The point, of course, is that there was no American Grub Street that produced one thing in pamphlets and newspapers while the politicians thought another. The same people were involved in both, and they used what they could from the whole of their cultural heritage, including seventeenth-century arguments when they fitted, and more ancient and more modern ideas than those when they fitted. The problem is to decide which of the ideas that they used effectively explained to them the nature of the political world around them. As far as I can judge—from all the categories of sources, needless to say, newspapers, pamphlets, legislative debates, letters—they appear to be as I described them in *The Origins of American Politics*, and nothing in what Mr. Greene writes suggests any reason for thinking otherwise.

But it is a tricky business deciding that a writer went only to the sources that he knew beforehand would support his case. Might one suggest, for example, that Mr. Greene's "counter"-demonstration is drawn largely from English parliamentary handbooks, which by definition can only reflect the seventeenth-century struggle between king and Commons?

We agree, however, on one thing. There is much to be said about the details of prerevolutionary politics—so long, in my view, as they are conceived as a process, and not reduced to some master abstraction of institutional growth like the Rise of the Assembly. Anyone interested in the subject will be eager to read Mr. Greene's forthcoming book on Virginia. But not much will be gained by reworking a threadbare cliché under a fashionable title, and by assuming that the publicist and political worlds were moving in separate paths and that eighteenth-century Americans found relevance for seventeenth-century but not for eighteenth-century English ideas.

Reply

JACK P. GREENE

I have read Bailyn's comments on my article with great interest, the more especially because they underline, once again, several general problems that must be solved before we can achieve a more satisfactory understanding of early American politics.

First and most obvious is the problem I specifically alluded to in my article: the tendency to view colonial politics from the vantage point of the American Revolution. There is, of course, much to be said for looking at a relatively stable and inconspicuous segment of the past from the perspective of a later upheaval. Invariably, the upheaval identifies and brings sharply into focus potentially disruptive tensions, issues, and trends that had previously been either partially submerged beneath or, at the very least, undifferentiated from many other facets of life. But such a perspective also carries with it some rather great dangers. First, what is seen to be most important about the earlier period is often determined by what seems to be most significant in the subsequent upheaval. Second, matters of more pressing concern to contemporaries in the earlier period will, consequently, often be overlooked or de-emphasized. And third, events in the earlier period will frequently appear to be worthy of consideration only in so far as they can be interpreted as origins of the later event. Parenthetically, one may add that, as Marc Bloch has warned, origins are by definition beginnings and very often—and very dangerously—beginnings that are “a complete explanation” or, to use Bailyn's perhaps somewhat more updated terminology, “a sufficient explanation.” But the problem under discussion is what effect Bailyn's perspective has had upon his interpretation not of the Revolution but of early eighteenth-century politics, and the three dangers listed above are precisely the ones I suggested Bailyn had not wholly avoided. My point was not that he had formulated a hypothesis about colonial politics and then deliberately set out to look exclusively for evidence to support it, but rather that his own earlier and highly persuasive reading of American political thought during the pre-revolutionary controversy had exerted a powerful influence upon his interpretation of earlier colonial political culture by making him more sensitive to the importance of some ideas—the very ideas he had shown to have been so determinative of American political understanding just prior to the Revolution—than he was to others. My understanding of Bailyn's comment suggests that it does rather more to confirm these suspicions than to dispel them.

A second problem is the tendency to look at colonial politics too much in terms of contemporary British politics. Over the past decade our knowledge of colonial political life has been greatly enriched by studies of the intimate relationship between virtually all aspects of British and colonial politics and especially of the dependence of the colonies upon the parent culture for their major political conceptions. But there is a danger in refracting provincial life through the lenses of a contemporary metropolis that is similar to that of viewing an earlier period from the perspective of a later one: critical differences may be obscured at the same time that important similarities are illuminated. With regard to the subject under discussion, the potentiality for such distortion is particularly great because of obvious and fundamental differences between conditions of politics in Britain and the colonies. Because the Crown continued throughout the eighteenth century to claim for—and through—its governors prerogative powers in the colonies that it had given up for itself in the home islands, colonial politicians continued to worry about the dangers of prerogative, not, of course, the prerogative of the king in Britain but that of the governors in the colonies. That the governors could not by any stretch of the imagination be mistaken for the king tended not to lessen but to intensify these fears by making the anomalous and persistent claims of the governors more conspicuous, and hence far more ominous. These fears were, to be sure, accompanied—and exacerbated—by the many evidences of corruption and malfeasance by men in the colonial administration precisely in the same way they had been in seventeenth-century England and America. But far from being the distinguishing feature of either colonial political culture or early eighteenth-century British opposition political thought, as Bailyn suggests in his comment, the concerns generated by such behavior would appear to be common to all opposition groups at every point in Anglo-American history during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It is doubtful that such a generalized phenomenon merits the heavy emphasis given it by Bailyn. The focus of opposition attention in Britain was, in fact, not so much upon corruption itself as upon the devices that made the corruption possible: excessive prerogative powers in the seventeenth century and, as Isaac Kramnick, J. G. A. Pocock, and Caroline Robbins have shown, the new mechanisms of “finance, bureaucracy, [and] the standing army” in the eighteenth century. In Pocock’s words, the “Civil List,” the direct product of these new mechanisms, became the “historical successor to the feudal prerogative” as the primary object of opposition attacks. For the obvious reasons that none of these mechanisms were present to anything like the same degree in any but the few colonial situations I mentioned in my article and that only that small number of colonial administrations could possibly be mistaken for the British court, the Walpolean opposition fear that the executive would use its extensive civil list and Treasury Funds to corrupt the body politic was not fully and effectively “generalized through the culture” of the colonies.

A third and subsidiary problem arises from the tendency to assume that colonial use of opposition *writings* automatically means that opposition *ideas* had the same power, relevance, and meaning in the colonies as they had in Britain. No one doubts that colonial writers borrowed heavily from contemporary opposition polemicists in Britain, but the question is not whether they borrowed from opposition writings but how and to what extent they used opposition ideas. My point about Bailyn's heavy reliance upon pamphlets and newspaper essays was not that political writers were a different group from politicians in power; not even the merest novice would make that assumption. Rather, it was that the many literary allusions and blatant examples of wholesale borrowing from metropolitan writers by provincial essayists might be a more misleading index to the essential concerns of colonial politics than spare legislative journals or unadorned letters, diaries, and other personal and private records. But it is not absolutely necessary to turn to such sources; one may use the many eighteenth-century colonial pamphlets that formed the core of my "counter"-documentation to discover that, however extensively opposition writings were cited and copied, they did not always function in the same ways, have the same force and meaning, or dominate the political understanding to the same extent in the colonies that they did among their adherents in Britain. Even when they were used in obviously relevant situations to condemn the corrupt behavior of a Boone, a Reynolds, a Knowles, or a Cosby, they were only an incomplete reproduction of the thought of the anti-Walpoleans because the corruption could not be traced, as in the case of Walpole, to the misuse of the governor's scanty patronage powers or the few unappropriated surplus funds under their control. And I still suspect that the Walpolean opposition tradition was fully relevant to, predominant in, and operated in a manner comparable to the way it operated in Britain only in those situations in which the governors had at their disposal money, patronage, and influence proportionate to that of Walpole at home.

A fourth and final problem is the impulse to try to fit the whole of eighteenth-century colonial politics into a single, relatively simple model. An explanation that rests upon the undifferentiated attribution to all circumstances of one strand of political thought (however greatly attenuated) that is said to have depended for its force and use upon nothing more than the existence of corrupt governors (who, for the most part, lacked the means for effective corruption) and chronically unstable political conditions that everywhere produced a system that can be characterized under one generic rubric called "chaotic factionalism" itself threatens to become a "master abstraction" as lifeless and as little explanatory of the whole process of colonial politics as that old and much-flogged horse, the Rise of the Assembly. I agree with Bailyn that more study needs to be given to prerevolutionary politics. But I disagree that only the details need to be filled in. Still to be worked out is a more comprehensive and refined general framework that will take into account differences in the structure, process, and content of colo-

nial political life from time to time and from place to place. In the meantime, *The Origins of American Politics*, as I pointed out in my review, will be very useful in precisely the way I used it in my article—not as a focal point for debate but as the most satisfactory general explanation of the colonial political process we have to date and a convenient starting point for the further discussion of those features of that process that it does not adequately comprehend.

Figgis, Constance, and the Divines of Paris

FRANCIS OAKLEY

MORE than sixty years have passed since John Neville Figgis reluctantly abandoned what he called the attempt "to secure completeness" and allowed his Birkbeck Lectures to go to press under the title *Studies of Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius*.¹ The years have not been unkind to the book. As the late Garrett Mattingly noted in his introduction to the most recent edition, it quickly took on "a life of its own" and "from being an academic exercise meant to suggest future lines of research" became both "the authoritative outline of a whole program of studies and the basic interpretation on which they rested, and have rested ever since."² Of course, as one might expect, the years were never kinder than to those parts of the program that languished incomplete for lack of performers. Nowhere, perhaps, is this more clearly evident than in the case of conciliar theory and its role in the history of European political thought.

That the theory should be cast in such a role may well cause some surprise. Conciliar theory, after all, was an ecclesiological doctrine. Its rise to prominence was occasioned by a crisis in the life of the Church: the disputed papal election of 1378, the subsequent protracted schism, and the failure of repeated attempts to end it. Its immediate appeal sprang, therefore, from the fact that it offered a way out of what had become a scandalous impasse, for it was, in effect, a constitutionalist theory. At its heart lay the belief that the pope was not an absolute monarch but rather in some sense a constitutional ruler, that he possessed a merely ministerial authority delegated to him for the good of the Church, that the final authority in the Church (at least in certain critical cases) lay not with him but with the whole body of the faithful or with their representatives gathered in a general council. In response to this belief the Councils of Pisa (1409) and Constance (1414-1418) assembled to put an end to the schism, and the conciliarists at the Council of Basel (1431-1449) defied unsuccessfully the authority of a pope, the validity of whose title to office was uncontested.

► Mr. Oakley, who is currently holding a year's fellowship from the American Council of Learned Societies, is an associate professor at Williams College. In 1960 he received his doctorate from Yale University; he worked there with Roland Bainton. His most recent book is *Council over Pope? Towards a Provisional Ecclesiology* (New York, 1969). He read a shorter and somewhat different version of this paper at a session of the American Historical Association in New York City, December 30, 1966. He would like to thank Professor Richard Kay of the University of Kansas for some helpful criticism.

¹ See the preface to the first edition (1907) reprinted in the most recent edition, John Neville Figgis, *Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius: 1414-1625. Seven Studies* (New York, 1960), xxvi. All subsequent references will be to this edition.

² *Ibid.*, xii.

If conciliar theory was indeed a form of constitutionalism, it was ecclesiastical constitutionalism that was involved, and its claim to a place in the history of political thought is not immediately evident. But on this matter Figgis' opinions were characteristically forceful. "Probably the most revolutionary official document in the history of the world," he said,

is the decree of the Council of Constance [*Haec sancta synodus*] asserting its superiority to the Pope, and striving to turn into a tepid constitutionalism the Divine authority of a thousand years. The movement is the culmination of medieval constitutionalism. It forms the watershed between the medieval and the modern world.³

And why is this so? Because, in the first place, the scandal of the Great Schism had the effect of turning attention from the old familiar dispute between the two powers, temporal and spiritual, and focusing it upon the nature of the Church itself. Because, in the second, "Speculation on the possible power of the Council, as the true depository of sovereignty within the Church" led them "to treat the Church definitely as one of a class, political societies."⁴ Because, in the third, the conciliar theorists of Constance

appear to have discerned more clearly than their predecessors the meaning of the constitutional experiments which the last two centuries had seen in considerable profusion, to have thought out the principles that underlay them, and based them upon reasoning that applied to all political societies; to have discerned that arguments applicable to government in general could not be inapplicable to the Church. In a word, they raised the constitutionalism of the past three centuries to a higher power, expressed it in a more universal form, and justified it on grounds of reason, policy and Scripture.⁵

According to Figgis, then, if the conciliar movement was more properly to be regarded as "medieval rather than modern in spirit," it was also to be regarded as "having helped forward modern constitutional tendencies." Why? Because it asserted "the principles which underlay acts like the deposing of Richard II in a far more definite and conscious way than had yet been done" and stripped "the arguments for constitutional government of all elements of that provincialism which might have clung to them for long had they been concerned only with the internal arrangements of the national states." Conciliar theorists expressed their principles "in a form in which they could readily be applied to politics," and so applied they were. "Even Huguenot writers like DuPlessis Mornay," said Figgis, "were not ashamed of using the doctrine of the Council's superiority over the Pope to prove their own doctrine of the supremacy of the estates over the king." "Emperors might be the fathers of the Council [of Constance], and the Kings its nursing mothers, but the child they nurtured was Constitutionalism, and its far-off legacy to our own day was 'the glorious revolution.'"⁶

³ *Ibid.*, 41.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 56.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 47.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 46-48, 63.

Three main assertions are made in this argument, assertions that may be distinguished one from another and discussed in turn. The first, that the source of fourteenth-century conciliar theory is to be found in the secular constitutional developments of the previous centuries. The second, that conciliar theory exerted a significant influence on the constitutionalists and the resistance theorists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The third, that it did so precisely because of the precision with which it discerned the theoretical principles underlying medieval constitutionalism, the universality with which it formulated those principles, and the clarity and force with which it restated them. To say this, of course, is to say also that conciliar theory was not merely an ecclesiological option but also, perhaps rather, a political theory.

Figgis was not the first to adopt this general approach,⁷ but he was its most vigorous and uninhibited exponent, and, despite the scantiness of the evidence supporting his contentions about the later influence of conciliar theory, his general interpretation swept the field. He himself restated it in an article written for *The Cambridge Modern History*,⁸ and H. J. Laski gave it memorable expression in 1936, when from the interstices of his harried versatility he produced the chapter on later medieval political theory for the eighth volume of *The Cambridge Medieval History*.⁹ A few years earlier Charles H. McIlwain had endorsed Figgis' analysis as "the most brilliant and valuable summary extant."¹⁰ Textbook after textbook has been content to agree with this judgment, and the whole approach has been canonized at least for the English-speaking world by the successive printings and editions of George H. Sabine's *History of Political Theory*, each devoting a complete section to conciliar theory and each endorsing Figgis' interpretation.¹¹

But there is another side to this. Despite the welcome accorded his interpretation, interest in conciliar *theory* at least languished somewhat in the years after Figgis wrote, and it was only after the Second World War that scholarly concern with the subject began to quicken again.¹² When it did, the validity of

⁷ See Otto Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Age*, tr. F. W. Maitland (Cambridge, Eng., 1900), 49-58.

⁸ John Neville Figgis, "Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century," in *The Cambridge Modern History* (13 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1902-11), III, 736; see also *id.*, "Politics at the Council of Constance," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, New Ser., XIII (1899), 103-15.

⁹ H. J. Laski, "Political Theory in the Later Middle Ages," in *The Cambridge Medieval History* (8 vols., Cambridge, Eng., 1911-36), VIII, 638.

¹⁰ Charles Howard McIlwain, *The Growth of Political Thought in the West* (New York, 1932), 348, n. 2.

¹¹ George H. Sabine, *A History of Political Theory* (New York, 1937; rev. ed., 1950), 326-27; cf. Frederick B. Artz, *The Mind of the Middle Ages* (New York, 1953), 303-304; D. R. Bhandari, *History of European Political Philosophy* (Bangalore, 1963), 146-53; Raymond G. Gettell, *History of Political Thought* (London, 1924), 133-35, 168; M. J. Marmon, *Political Thought from Plato to the Present* (New York, 1964), 147-50; R. H. Murray, *The History of Political Science* (2d ed., New York, 1930), 101. Figgis' views have had less influence on the continental literature, but see, e.g., Juan Beneyto Pérez, *Historia de las doctrinas políticas* (4th ed., Aguilar, 1964), 161-64.

¹² See E. F. Jacob's useful discussions of modern conciliar studies: "The Conciliar Movement in Recent Study," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, XLI (No. 1, 1958-59), 26-53, and "Reflections upon the Study of the General Councils in the Fifteenth Century," *Ecclesiastical History Society: Studies in Church History*, I (1964), 80-97.

the first aspect of his interpretation was brought into question. In 1943 E. F. Jacob already had begun to wonder about the widespread tendency to regard conciliar theory as simply a transference to the Church of ideas of secular political origin, and in 1955 Brian Tierney, pursuing suggestions made over the years by Otto von Gierke, H. X. Arquillière, Walter Ullmann, and others, made the claim that conciliar theory, far from being a reaction against canonist views or a profane importation onto ecclesiastical soil, was in fact the logical outgrowth of certain strands of canonist thought itself, the outcome of the attempts of generations of canonists to rationalize the structure both of the individual churches and of the Universal Church. Side by side with "the familiar theory of papal sovereignty," he argued, "there has developed another theory," one that was "applied at first to single churches and then, at the beginning of the fourteenth century . . . to the Roman Church and the Church as a whole." This theory stressed "the corporate association of the members of a church" rather than the "vigorous subordination of all the members to a single head" as "the true principle of ecclesiastical unity." It "envisaged an exercise of corporate authority by the members of a church even in the absence of an effective head" and in so doing laid the essential foundations for the later development of conciliar theory. "The essential point that Dr. Figgis overlooked," Tierney concluded,

was that when the Conciliarist writers surveyed their problems, they would naturally turn for guidance, not to the customs of France, or the laws of England, or the constitutional practices of Spain, but rather to the great mass of ecclesiastical jurisprudence, to the common law of the Universal Church, and the words of its great interpreters.¹³

Tierney made a strong case, and the tide of literature on conciliar matters that has been flowing in the last few years has done nothing to shake it.¹⁴ On the other hand, though that same tide has flowed most strongly in areas of reformist and ecclesiological interest and has sponsored most notably an intense debate in Roman Catholic circles about the current dogmatic status of the decree *Haec sancta synodus*,¹⁵ it has not left the history of political theory altogether

¹³ *Id.*, *Essays in the Conciliar Epoch* (Manchester, 1943), 2-3; Brian Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory: The Contribution of the Medieval Canonists from Gratian to the Great Schism* (Cambridge, Eng., 1955), 240, 10-11; cf. Gierke, *Political Theories of the Middle Age*, 50; H. X. Arquillière, "L'appel au concile sous Philippe le Bel et la genèse des théories conciliaires," *Revue des questions historiques*, XLV (No. 1, 1911), 51-55; Walter Ullmann, *The Origins of the Great Schism* (London, 1948), 184-85, and *The Growth of Papal Government in the Middle Ages* (London, 1955), 452-53.

¹⁴ See, e.g., the useful review article by Michael Seidlmayer of Tierney, *Foundations of the Conciliar Theory*, in *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Kanonistische Abteilung*, XLIII (1957), 374-87; *id.*, "Pope and Council: Some New Decretist Texts," *Mediaeval Studies*, XIX (1957), 197-218; and James M. Moynihan, *Papal Immunity and Liability in the Writings of the Medieval Canonists* (Rome, 1961).

¹⁵ See Paul de Vooght, "Le Conciliarisme aux conciles de Constance et de Bâle," in Bernard Botte *et al.*, *Le Concile et les Conciles: Contribution à l'histoire de l'église* (Paris, 1960), 143-81. "Le Conciliarisme aux conciles de Constance et de Bâle (Compléments et précisions)," *Irénikon*, XXXVI (No. 1, 1963), 61-75, "L'attitude des papes Martin V et Eugène IV à l'égard du conciliarisme," *ibid.* (No. 3, 1963), 326-32, "Le concile oecuménique de Constance et le conciliarisme," *Istina*, IX (No. 1, 1963), 57-86, *Les pouvoirs du Concile et l'autorité du Pape au Concile de Constance* (Paris, 1965); Yves Congar, "Conclusion," in Botte *et al.*, *Concile et les Conciles*; K. A. Fink, "Zur Beurteilung des grossen abendländischen Schismas," *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, LXXIII (Nos. 3-4, 1962), 335-

high and dry, and there has, of late, been a modest accumulation of evidence strongly suggesting that if Figgis was somewhat off the mark in his assumptions about the source of conciliar theory he was very much to the point in his claims for its subsequent influence on sixteenth- and seventeenth-century constitutionalist thinking.¹⁶

This should occasion no surprise. The triumph of the papacy over the Council of Basel marked the defeat of conciliarism, but Hubert Jedin has clearly shown that despite the subsequent papalist reaction, conciliar theory survived into the "era of papal restoration," notably in France, where it enjoyed a vigorous and continuous public life, and also in Italy, where it was to find a distinguished exponent even in the court of Julius II.¹⁷ Jedin says little about the British Isles, but others have documented the existence of a lively conciliarist tradition in late fifteenth-century Scotland.¹⁸ It was from Scotland as well as from France and Italy that the conciliar theory was to draw its latter-day apologists when, in May 1511, a group of dissident cardinals, acting with the encouragement of the

43; Hans Küng, *Strukturen der Kirche* (Freiburg, 1962); Heinz Hürten, "Zur Ekklesiologie der Konzilien von Konstanz und Basel," *Theologische Revue*, LIX (1963), 361-72; Joseph Gill, "The Fifth Session of the Council of Constance," *Heythrop Journal*, V (No. 1, 1964), 131-43, and "Il decreto *Haec Sancta Synodus* del concilio di Constanza," *Revista di storia della Chiesa in Italia*, XXI (No. 1, 1967), 123-30; Hubert Jedin, *Bischöfliches Konzil oder Kirchenparlament? Ein Beitrag zur Ekklesiologie der Konzilien von Konstanz und Basel* (2d ed., Basel, 1965); the contributions esp. of De Vooght, August Franzen, Harold Zimmermann, Remigius Bäumer, Hürten, and Helmut Riedlinger in August Franzen and Wolfgang Müller, *Das Konzil von Konstanz: Beiträge zu seiner Geschichte und Theologie* (Freiburg, 1964); August Franzen, "The Council of Constance: Present State of the Problem," *Concilium*, VII (1965), 29-68; I. H. Pichler, *Die Verbindlichkeit der Konstanzer Dekrete* (Vienna, 1967); Brian Tierney, "Hermeneutics and History: The Problem of *Haec Sancta*," in *Essays in Medieval History Presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. T. A. Sandquist and M. R. Powicke (Toronto, 1969), 354-70. It should be noted that this recent literature addresses itself neither to the possibility of viewing conciliar theory as a political theory nor to the use to which it was put by secular constitutionalists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Indeed, it concerns itself with the theoretical arguments elaborated by individual conciliarists only to the degree that those arguments illuminate the dogmatic status of *Haec sancta* and its meaning. The stimulus for this literature, then, is the current upheaval in the Roman Catholic Church, and its focus is strictly ecclesiological. Because of this, it will not concern us here, but reference may be made to Francis Oakley, *Council over Pope? Towards a Provisional Ecclesiology* (New York, 1969), where much of it is analyzed, criticized, or commented upon.

¹⁶ See *id.*, "From Constance to 1688: The Political Thought of John Major and George Buchanan," *Journal of British Studies*, I (No. 2, 1962), 1-31, *The Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly: The Voluntarist Tradition* (New Haven, Conn., 1964), 217-32, and "From Constance to 1688 Revisited," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XXVII (No. 3, 1966), 429-32; James H. Burns, "The Conciliarist Tradition in Scotland," *Scottish Historical Review*, XLII (Oct. 1963), 89-104; Zofia Rueger, "Gerson, the Conciliar Movement and the Right of Resistance (1642-1644)," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XXV (No. 4, 1964), 467-80.

¹⁷ This exponent was the Bolognese jurist Giovanni Gozzadini. See Hubert Jedin, "Giovanni Gozzadini, ein Konziliarist am Hofe Julius II.," *Römische Quartalschrift*, XLVII (Nos. 3-4, 1939), 193-267; and Josef Klotzner, *Kardinal Domenico Jacobazzi und sein Konzilswerk* (Rome, 1948), 236-50. For the fate of conciliar theory in the continental countries, see Hubert Jedin, *A History of the Council of Trent*, tr. Ernest Graf (2 vols., London, 1957-61), I, 27-61. For a discussion and listing of appeals to a general council after Pius II's prohibition, see Giovanni Picotti, "La pubblicazione e i primi effetti della 'Execrabilis' de Pio II.," *Archivio della Società Romana di storia patria*, XXXVII (1914), 33-50. Jedin (*History*, I, 67, n. 4) cites some further instances and notes that Picotti "does not adequately distinguish between the appeal to the Council as a legal procedure and the demand for a Council and its convocation."

¹⁸ See James H. Baxter, "Four 'New' Medieval Scottish Authors," *Scottish Historical Review*, XXV (Jan. 1928), 90-97; James H. Burns, "John Ireland and 'The Merou'e of Wyssdome,'" *Innes Review*, VI (No. 2, 1955), 77-98, *Scottish Churchmen and the Council of Basel* (Glasgow, 1962), and "Conciliarist Tradition in Scotland," 89-104.

French King, convoked the assembly that has gone down in history as the *conciliabulum* of Pisa.¹⁹ Notable among these apologists were the Scotsman John Major and his former pupil Jacques Almain, both of whom as representatives of the faculty of theology at Paris claimed that they were merely giving expression to a university tradition dating back to the days of the Council of Constance, and both of whom leaned heavily upon the arguments of two Parisian theologians who had been active at that council, Pierre d'Ailly and Jean Gerson.²⁰

Pisa and the renewed circulation of conciliarist literature that it caused may help to explain why constitutionalists and advocates of resistance theory later in the century found it so easy to make use of conciliar arguments in their own discussions of secular politics. The tracts of a Catholic monarchomach like Rossaeus (William Rainolds?) or of a Jesuit controversialist like Robert Parsons may reveal no explicit dependence on conciliar ideas,²¹ but it takes no acquaintance with conciliar history to be able to detect its influence on the thinking of the leading Protestant advocates of resistance theory. The *De jure magistratuum* usually ascribed to Theodore Beza was explicit enough on these matters for the English Royalist David Owen to describe it in 1610 as a book "wherein it is said, that the people have the same right to depose Kings that are tyrants, which a generall counsell hath to displace a Pope that is a Heretique."²² A much lengthier appeal to conciliar theory and practice occurs in the *Shorte Treatise of Politicke Power* written in 1556 by John Ponet, exiled bishop of Winchester.²³ Similarly forthright appeals occur also in the *De jure regni apud Scotos* of George Buchanan (an adherent of the conciliar position in his earlier Catholic days)²⁴ and the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos*, probably the most important and influential political

¹⁹ For Pisa, see Klotzner, *Kardinal Domenikus Jacobazzi*, 167–84; Francis Oakley, "Almain and Major: Conciliar Theory on the Eve of the Reformation," *American Historical Review*, LXX (Apr. 1965), 673–90, and the literature referred to therein. Also Olivier de la Brosse, *Le Pape et le Concile: La comparaison de leurs pouvoirs à la veille de la Réforme* (Paris, 1965).

²⁰ John Major, *Disputatio de auctoritate concilii supra pontificem maximum*, in Joannis Gersonii, *Opera Omnia*, ed. Louis Ellies Dupin (5 vols., Antwerp, 1706), II, 1132, 1144; Jacques Almain, *Tractatus de auctoritate ecclesiae et conciliorum generalium*, *ibid.*, 1070.

²¹ A student of conciliar theory, however, may properly be forgiven if he finds much that is maddeningly familiar in them.

²² David Owen, *Herod and Pilate Reconciled* (3d ed., London, 1663), 43. The work had previously appeared in 1610 and 1642 under the title of *A Persuasion to Loyalty*. The French version of the *De jure magistratuum* (*Du droit des magistrats sur leurs sujets*) is to be found in *Mémoires de l'Etat de France sous Charles IX*, ed. Simon Goulart (3 vols., Meidelbourg, 1577), II, 735–90, esp. 777. For the question of authorship, see Albert Elkan, *Die Publizistik der Bartholomäusnacht und Mornays 'Vindiciae contra tyrannos'* (Heidelberg, 1905), 60–123.

²³ A facsimile edition of this work is printed in Winthrop S. Hudson, *John Ponet (1516?–1556): Advocate of Limited Monarchy* (Chicago, 1942). Ponet cites few authorities, but Hudson claims (p. 172) that there is material drawn from John Major's *History of Greater Britain* in the *Shorte Treatise*.

²⁴ George Buchanan, *De jure regni*, in his *Opera Omnia* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1715), I, 8, 30, 36. He admitted his earlier adherence to the conciliar position when he was in the hands of the Lisbon Inquisition in 1550. (See James M. Aitken, *The Trial of George Buchanan before the Lisbon Inquisition* [Edinburgh, 1939], 22–25.) Buchanan had been a student of Major's at St. Andrews, and much has been made of this fact (by myself, among others; see Oakley, "Political Thought of John Major and George Buchanan," 11–29), but, given Burns's evidence for the prevalence of conciliarist views in Scotland (see note 18, above), it now seems redundant to insist upon that particular connection.

tracts opposing absolute monarchy in the two centuries preceding the appearance of John Locke's *Second Treatise*. If, says the author of the *Vindiciae*,

according to the opinions of most of the learned by decrees of Councils, and by custom on like occasions, it plainly appears that the Council may depose a Pope, who notwithstanding vaunts himself to be the King of Kings, and as much in Dignity above the Emperour, as the Sun is above the Moon . . . [then] . . . Who will make any doubt or question, that the general Assembly of the Estates of any Kingdom, who are the representative body thereof, may not only degrade and dethrone a Tyrant, but also even dethrone and depose a King, whose weakness or folly, is hurtful or pernicious to the State.²⁵

The influence of these tracts was most strongly felt in the seventeenth century, and most notably in England.²⁶ But English constitutional and political theorists were not wholly dependent upon these monarchomachs of the previous century for an appreciation of the relevance of the conciliar position to the world of secular politics. Edmond Richer's inclusion of conciliar tracts by D'Ailly, Major, and Almain in his 1606 edition of the complete works of Gerson made conveniently available a whole arsenal of conciliar arguments, which was put to good use in the controversy occasioned in the wake of the Gunpowder Plot by the imposition of the Oath of Allegiance upon English Roman Catholics.²⁷ It would be proper, indeed, to speak of a veritable reception of conciliar theory in England at this time. The arguments of men like the Archpriest George Blackwell, of William Warmington and Roger Widdrington, of Robert Burhill—indeed, of James I himself—must have done much to direct the attention of Englishmen to the relevant tracts of the Parisian conciliarists.

²⁵ *Vindiciae contra Tyrannos* . . . *Being a Treatise Written in Latin and French by Junius Brutus, and Translated Out of Both into English* (London, 1689), 142.

²⁶ Even Ponet's work, perhaps the least well-known of them all, was reprinted twice on the eve of the Civil War. (See Hudson, *John Ponet*, 210–11). An edition of the *Vindiciae* was published in England as early as 1579, and three English editions appeared in the seventeenth century, two during the Civil War period and another in 1689. Some indication of Buchanan's enduring notoriety is given by the governmental condemnations of his work in 1584, 1660, 1664, and 1688 and by the inclusion of his works among those condemned by the University of Oxford in 1683. J. H. M. Salmon, *The French Religious Wars in English Political Thought* (Oxford, Eng., 1959), 145, comments that "it was an indication of the persistent influence of monarchomach theory that the *Vindiciae contra tyrannos* and the *De jure regni apud Scotos* should be listed beside the many English and Scottish works which in the preceding forty years had reproduced French doctrines of resistance."

²⁷ *Joannis Gersonii* . . . *Opera*, ed. Edmond Richer (2 vols., Paris, 1606), I, 675–934. Richer also included extensive quotations from the works of D'Ailly, Gerson, Major, and Almain in his *Libellus de ecclesiastica et politica potestate*, first published in 1611. (Cf. Oakley, *Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly*, 214–16.) Thus William Warmington certainly had read Almain in Richer's edition of Gerson. (See his *A Moderate Defence of the Oath of Allegiance* [n.p., 1612], 88.) This was presumably the edition that James I presented to the library at St. Andrews in 1612, and one may surmise that it was in its pages that he himself had made the acquaintance of the conciliarists whom he cited in his own works. (See Rueger, "Gerson, the Conciliar Movement, and the Right of Resistance," 484.) Jacques Davy, cardinal du Perron, *An Oration made on the Part of the Lordes Spirituall in the Chamber of the Third Estate*, delivered in 1614, tr. into English (St. Omer, 1616), 49–50, refers to this edition as an important source for those who wish "to understand what be the batteries and strongest defences of the Jurisdiction spirituall and temporal [against the Pope]"; cf. *ibid.*, 121–22. Later in the century, William Bridge was to draw his knowledge of Almain's thinking from the same edition. (See William Bridge, *The Wounded Conscience Cured, the Weak One Strengthened and the Doubting Satisfied* [London, 1642], 2, and *The Truths of the Times Vindicated* [London, 1643], 2–5.) For a discussion of the controversy, see *The Political Works of James I*, ed. C. H. McIlwain (Cambridge, Mass., 1918), lix–lxxix. For the references made to conciliar literature by those engaged in the controversy, see Oakley, *Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly*, 223–24.

It is hardly surprising, then, that during the early years of the Civil War, when the opponents of Charles I still pursued the moderate goal of lawful resistance, some of them should choose to cite the conciliarists and to invoke the conciliar analogy in much the same way as had their more distinguished sixteenth-century predecessors.²⁸ Thus the Royalist John Maxwell (1590–1647) could complain in 1644 that the Sectaries had learned their doctrine that the people have a right to resist tyranny, not from “the sound Protestants of the Reformed Churches,” but from papists such as Jean Boucher and Rossaeus; these, he conjectured, had borrowed it in turn from

the Sorbonists, and others of that kinde, who to oppose the Pope his infallibilitie in judgment, his unlimited power, and to subject him to a Councell, did dispute themselves almost out of breath, to prove that *potestas spiritualis summa* was by Christ first and immediately given *unitati* or *communitati fidelium* . . . that howsoever for the time it was virtually in the Pope, yet he had it onely from the communitie of the faithfull *communicatively*, and in the case of defaillance, in them it was suppletive; and in the case that the power of the Church was abused to heresie or tyrannie, the Pope was deposable (not onely censurable) by a Councell.²⁹

It is, he added, from the “polluted cisterns” of men like William of Ockham, Gerson, and Almain that “our Rabbies have drawn these doctrines.”

Given the availability of Richer’s edition of Gerson, it is understandable that the conciliar theorists whom these “Rabbies” chose to cite should be “the divines of Paris.”³⁰ In the polemical literature of this period that I have been able to examine, as well as in that connected with the controversy over the Oath of Allegiance, I have been able to find only a handful of references to Nicholas of Cusa. When I say, therefore, that the dominant conciliar tradition at work in seventeenth-century England was one stemming from the Council of Constance, I am not relying on Major’s curious assertion that Nicholas was one of the doctors active at that council.³¹ And if I add the further qualification

²⁸ Bridge, *Wounded Conscience Cured*, 2, 7, and *Truths of the Times Vindicated*, 2–6; William Prynne, *The Sovereigne Power of Parliaments and Kingdoms* (London, 1643), Pt. 1, 5–6, 31, 68, 73; Pt. 3, 136, 144, Appendix, 101, 161; Samuel Rutherford, *Lex, Rex: The Law and the Prince* (London, 1644), 50, 418; see also Owen, *Herod and Pilate Reconciled*, 39, 43 (this work was republished in 1642; see note 21, above). As Rueger (“Gerson, the Conciliar Movement, and the Right of Resistance,” 486) says, “The conciliar precedent was deemed of sufficient importance and relevance to be invoked frequently enough to force the Royalist writers into a polemic, and thus come to form a distinct strand of the controversy over the right of resistance in the years 1642–1644.” See John Bramhall, *Serpent Salve*, in *Works* (Dublin, 1677), 526; and Henry Ferne, *Conscience Satisfied* (Oxford, Eng., 1643), 39; both are cited in Rueger, “Gerson, the Conciliar Movement, and the Right of Resistance,” 481–82. See also John Maxwell, *Sacro-sancta Regum Majestas: or, The Sacred and Royall Prerogative of Christian Kings* (Oxford, Eng., 1644), 12–16.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 14–16.

³⁰ It should be noted that Prynne drew much of his knowledge of conciliar theory from John White’s *The Way to the True Church* (London, 1608). (See Prynne, *Sovereigne Power*, Pt. 1, 31, 68.)

³¹ For Major’s remarks, see his *Disputatio de auctoritate concilii*, in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 1136C. There are citations of Nicholas in Roger Widdrington, *A Clear, Sincere and Modest Confutation* (n.p., 1616), 188; *Apologia Cardinalis Bellarmini pro jure Principum adversus suas ipsius rationes*, in Melchior Goldast, *Monarchia s. Romani Imperii* (3 vols., Frankfurt a.M., 1611–14), III, 695; also in William Barclay, *De Potestate Papae: An et quatenus in Reges et Principes seculares jus et imperium habeat* (London, 1609), 134, 219. Both Prynne (*Sovereigne Power*, Pt. 1, 5–6) and Bridge (*Wounded Conscience Cured*, 7–8) refer, if not to Nicholas, at least to the conciliarism of Basel. The argument they cite is ostensibly drawn directly from Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini’s *De gestibus Basiliensis Concilii*,

that it was above all the tradition created and preserved by the Gallican theologians of the University of Paris—D'Ailly, Gerson, Major, and Almain—it is because a couple of references to Cardinal Zabarella seem to constitute the sole representation in this literature of the other conciliarists active during the whole period of the Great Schism.³²

If, then, it might be forcing the evidence a little to assert, as did Laski, that "the road from Constance to 1688 was a direct one," it seems permissible to speak with some confidence at least of a path from Constance to 1644. Much work remains to be done. Scholars will argue about the precise importance to be ascribed to this conciliar legacy, but they will not be disposed to question its existence. On this point Figgis was right, and it is tempting, therefore, to assume that he must also have been right on the third point: his insistence on the universality of conciliar principles, and his concomitantly favorable estimate of the clarity and viability of conciliar theory as a political and constitutional doctrine.

The historical influence of a theory, however, is not necessarily contingent upon its clarity, precision, or universality, and it has to be realized that the claim made in Figgis' third point is not wholly to be assimilated to the question of subsequent influence. What is really at issue here is the status to be accorded to conciliar theory in the history of political thought. And on this matter others have signaled the need for caution. As early as 1936, in the last volume of his monumental *History of Medieval Political Thought*, A. J. Carlyle contrasted "the ecclesiastical questions of the relation between the Pope and the General Council," which he excluded from consideration, with the remarks of the conciliarists concerning properly "political principles," which he was quite prepared to discuss.³³ J. B. Morrall, while willing to discuss conciliar theory as a contribution to medieval political thought, spoke in 1958 of "the ambiguity inherent in the whole Conciliar position."³⁴ In 1965 Walter Ullmann (to whom conciliar studies owe so much) expressed similar sentiments, and in the same year T. M. Parker questioned the "tendency in the past to think of the Schism and the Conciliar movement resulting from it in political terms."³⁵

Of these men, only Parker is concerned to criticize Figgis, and his criticism

Bk. I (in Pius II, *Opera quae extant omnia* [Basel, 1571], 8), but they are in fact quoting the translation of the passage, which is to be found in Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*. (See John Foxe, *Acts and Monuments*, ed. Stephen Reed Cattley [8 vols., London, 1837-41], III, 611-12.) The account of the activities of the Council of Basel runs for almost a hundred pages in this edition (pp. 605-702), and it must have helped to disseminate in England a knowledge of conciliar ideas.

³² Zabarella is mentioned by William Warlington, *A Moderate Defence of the Oath of Allegiance* (n.p., 1612), 59; and Robert Burhill, *De potestate regia, et usurpatione papali* (Oxford, Eng., 1613), 195, 208-209. One also encounters references to John of Paris, William of Ockham, and Marsilius of Padua, but the citations of D'Ailly, Gerson, Major, and especially Almain predominate.

³³ R. W. and A. J. Carlyle, *A History of Medieval Political Thought in the West* (6 vols., London, 1903-36), VI, 247; cf. *ibid.*, 163-67.

³⁴ John B. Morrall, *Political Thought in Medieval Times* (New York, 1962), 128.

³⁵ Walter Ullmann, *A History of Political Thought in the Middle Ages* (Harmondsworth, Middlx., 1965), 219-25; Thomas M. Parker, "The Conciliar Movement," in *Trends in Medieval Political Thought*, ed. Beryl Smalley (Oxford, Eng., 1965), 127-39.

is directed less against Figgis' analysis of conciliar theory than against what he takes to be Figgis' claim that the failure of the conciliar movement contributed directly to the rise of centralized autocracy in the several European states. As a result, he at least is willing to admit that Figgis was not altogether wrong in "seeing . . . a relation between Conciliar thought and constitutionalism in politics."³⁶ This is certainly not the case with Carlyle, who seems to have regarded conciliarism as irrelevant to the history of political thought. And if Ullmann does not go quite that far, he has certainly developed serious doubts, if not about the reality of the conciliar political legacy, then at least about its nature.

While still admitting that conciliarism was "indubitably" a "political doctrine," that it was a "ruthless" application of what he likes to call "the ascending conception of government" (that is, popular sovereignty) to the one body "which at first sight would have seemed immune to it," Ullmann has clearly had second thoughts on the matter—in the second edition of his *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages*, in his recent history of medieval political thought, and elsewhere.³⁷ Conciliarist theorizing may well have influenced sixteenth- and seventeenth-century political thinkers, but the latter, he insists, did not swallow their conciliarism whole. Instead, they selected from among the conciliar materials handed down to them, and chose to emphasize "only one strand of conciliarist thought."³⁸

In one sense, this is obviously true. It is understandable enough that the political thinkers showed no interest in the reformist programs and oligarchic curialist claims that were to be found in the conciliarist writings. What caught their attention, and predictably so, was the central conciliar insistence on the superiority of council to pope, and because of this they did indeed select from the conciliar tradition, though they did so in very much the same way as had Major and Almain before them.³⁹ It is doubtful, however, that Ullmann would be satisfied with this admission. His claim is more far-reaching, and it is predicated on a rather jaundiced appraisal of the universality and internal coherence of conciliar theory itself, one that entails for it a place in the history of political thought considerably less prominent than that allocated by Figgis.

By their deeds, he seems to imply, ye shall know them. "What touches all, must be approved by all" was a persuasive political slogan, but one missed its

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 138.

³⁷ Walter Ullmann, *Principles of Government and Politics in the Middle Ages* (2d ed., London, 1966), 288–90, 313–15, and *History of Political Thought*, 219–35; cf. his review of Oakley, *Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly*, in *Renaissance News*, XVIII (No. 4, 1965), 305–307.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 306.

³⁹ Thus Rueger ("Gerson, the Conciliar Movement, and the Right of Resistance," 482) says: "The xvth-century writers seemed entirely unaware of, or unconcerned with the complexity of objectives and issues involved in the Conciliar Movement; . . . according to their interpretation the Conciliar Movement was reduced to two facts: the assumption of conciliar sovereignty, which could be equated with the assumption of parliamentary sovereignty, and the conciliar deposition of the Pope, which could be used as an argument in justification of Parliamentary right of resistance to the King." For the earlier selective conciliarism of Major and Almain, see Oakley, "Conciliar Theory on the Eve of the Reformation," 686–90.

appearance in practice." Constance and Basel were "as heretofore" merely "ecclesiastical assemblies," assemblies dominated, moreover, by the higher clergy. "The lower clergy and the educated layman," he says, "were . . . knocking at the gate, and were refused entry."⁴⁰

Laymen indeed could submit memoranda, make speeches and take part in the council's debates, but they were not allowed to vote, except in so far as they were delegates of Kings who were not of course merely laymen; in so far the old theocratic-descending point of view was applied once again.⁴¹

It would be easy, of course, to take issue with this assessment of the great fifteenth-century councils. After all, were not voting rights extended to an unprecedented degree to representatives of the lower clergy and laity? Is it really permissible to dismiss the grant of the vote to lay ambassadors simply as an acknowledgment of the clerical status of their royal or princely masters?⁴²

But Ullmann's remarks are addressed to the theoretical formulations of the conciliarists and not merely to their alleged failure to translate theory into practice. This lag in conciliar theory was but a reflection, he implies, of the internal incoherence of the theory itself. The conciliarists were unable "to free themselves from the incubus of the traditional [presumably hierocratic] . . . arguments."⁴³ "What the conciliarists did," he claims, "was to refurbish the old episcopal system under the cover of a progressive movement: stripped of its inessential paraphernalia, conciliarism was a late-medieval revival of episcopatism."⁴⁴ As such its position in the history of *political* thought can only be an ambiguous one.

On this point Ullmann has the support of Morrall.⁴⁵ Asserting that the early fifteenth-century conciliar thinkers in general "were all strict believers in clerical monopoly of Church government and had no sympathy with Marsilian notions of lay participation," and discussing Gerson's theory in particular, Morrall argues that

⁴⁰ Ullmann, *History of Political Thought*, 223-24.

⁴¹ *Id.*, *Principles of Government*, 314.

⁴² Tierney (*Foundations of Conciliar Theory*, 49) points out that in the decretist literature "The Roman law principle, 'Quod omnes tangit ab omnibus judicetur,' was frequently adduced to prove that in the decision of articles of faith even laymen should be represented."

⁴³ Review of Oakley, *Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly*, 306.

⁴⁴ Ullmann, *Principles of Government*, 314, and *History of Political Thought*, 223-24.

⁴⁵ It should be noted that the background to Ullmann's (but not to Morrall's) treatment of conciliar thinking in particular and medieval constitutionalism in general is his insistence on fitting medieval political thinking to the Procrustean bed of what he calls the "descending" and "ascending" theses concerning the derivation of political authority, his alignment of the former with that Christian "supernaturalism" or "totalitarianism" which is grounded in faith, and of the latter with the complex of ideas that he and his pupil, M. J. Wilks, insist on referring to as "Aristotelian naturalism" and that is grounded in reason. (See Ullmann, *Principles of Government*, esp. 235-79, and *History of Political Thought*, esp. 167-73; M. J. Wilks, *The Problem of Sovereignty in the Later Middle Ages: The Papal Monarchy with Augustinus Triumphus and the Publicists* [Cambridge, Eng., 1963].) From this point of view it is above all the essentially rationalistic "Aristotelian naturalism" that must be given the credit for having sponsored the "ascending thesis," and it becomes understandably difficult for Ullmann to admit that that thesis could have found full expression in any truly Christian system of ecclesiological thinking; hence, his reservations about conciliarism. The whole mythology of "Aristotelian naturalism" deserves closer critical scrutiny than it has yet received. But that issue is a big one, and at the moment it is simply my purpose to make clear that the texts of the *Parisian* conciliarists at least will not sustain the interpretation that Ullmann is led to impose upon conciliar thinking.

This failure to draw the full logical consequence of his representative theories by claiming direct representation for every section of the faithful is a measure of the ambiguity inherent in the whole Conciliar position. It is still inseparably wedded to the orthodox hierarchical conception of authority as coming from above rather than below; this being the case, all the ingenuity of thinkers even of Gerson's calibre could not give the representative principle, based essentially on delegation from below, its full expression.⁴⁶

The question that these criticisms raise is exceedingly intricate. Conciliar theory possessed no monolithic unity. Even if one limits oneself (as I shall) to the four Parisian conciliarists so dear to the seventeenth-century polemicists, one is confronted with important shades of difference in their respective positions. The matter of voting rights affords a good illustration. Whereas Major does not discuss voting rights and makes no mention of lay representation,⁴⁷ Gerson, D'Ailly, and Almain do both. But while Gerson insists that the right to vote be enjoyed by the lower clergy as well as by the bishops and that no member of the faithful be refused a hearing, he is willing to see the laity restricted to a merely consultative or advisory capacity, though it should be added that he sees nothing permanent or necessary about such a restriction.⁴⁸ Almain follows him quite faithfully on this,⁴⁹ but D'Ailly goes much further. Though the unlearned and those of the lowest ranks are not specifically summoned to the council, no Catholic, D'Ailly says, should be excluded. Nor should kings, princes, or their ambassadors be denied a vote, any more than should doctors of theology or of canon or civil law, for they are all men with authority over the people.⁵⁰

The selective procedures suggested here are by no means democratic, but it would surely be anachronistic to expect them to be so. If that is what is meant by giving the representative principle its "full expression,"⁵¹ then the conciliar

⁴⁶ Morrall, *Political Thought in Medieval Times*, 127-28; cf. his remark (p. 130) that Nicholas of Cusa was no more able than Gerson to "achieve the impossible task of reconciliation between the hierarchical tradition of the medieval Church and the representative ideology."

⁴⁷ He defines a general council as follows: "Concilium . . . est congregatio ex omni statu hierarchico, quorum interest, convocata ab iis quibus incumbit, ad tractandum communi intentione, de utilitate publica Christiana." (Major, *Disputatio de auctoritate concilii*, in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 1132C.)

⁴⁸ Just as in some periods, he says, prelates have been elected by the whole people and clergy and in others by the clergy alone, similarly the council, if it so desires, is at liberty to extend or restrict the vote in accordance with the needs of the times. (Gerson, *De potestate ecclesiastica*, *ibid.*, 250C; cf. *Sermo: 'Ambulate dum lucem habetis,' ibid.*, 205C.)

⁴⁹ Almain, *Tractatus de auctoritate ecclesiae*, *ibid.*, 1011D-12A, *Expositio circa decisiones Magistri Guillelmi Occam . . . de potestate ecclesiastica et laica*, *ibid.*, 1067D, and *Quaestio resumptiva . . . de dominio naturali, civili et ecclesiastico*, *ibid.*, 973B-C.

⁵⁰ D'Ailly, *Oratio de officio imperatoris*, *ibid.*, 921, and *Disputatio de iure suffragii quibus competat*, in Herman von der Hardt, *Rerum concilii oecumenici Constantiensis* (6 vols., Leipzig, 1697), II, 225-27; cf. D'Ailly, *Tractatus de ecclesiastica potestate*, in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 941C-D. D'Ailly does indicate (Hardt, *Rerum concilii oecumenici Constantiensis*, II, 224) that he is concerned here with councils such as that assembled at Constance and met to deal not with matters of faith but with an abnormal situation for which there was no definitively established procedure. This seems, however, simply to be an attempt to explain away the position he had adopted in 1403 when he had argued that the definitive voice in a general council should belong *principaliter* to the bishops alone. (See D'Ailly, *Tractatus de materia concilii generalis*, ed. Oakley, in *Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly*, Appendix III, 268, 272-73.)

⁵¹ This is what Morrall seems to mean. (See Morrall, *Political Thought in Medieval Times*, 128-29, and his comparison with the pre-1832 House of Commons.)

theorists undoubtedly fall short of the mark. As D'Ailly put it, "what touches all must be approved by all, or at least by many and by the more notable ones."⁵² An aristocratic principle of selection is clearly at work, but it is not predicated upon the possession of hierarchical powers of a sacerdotal nature. This is the factor fundamental, I take it, to any episcopal position, but clearly not the one D'Ailly has in mind, for he pointedly insists that doctors of theology or of either of the two laws have greater authority over the Christian people and, therefore, a better claim to the vote than ignorant and merely titular bishops or archbishops.⁵³

But is not an element of ambiguity introduced into conciliar thinking by the very fact that it is predicated of the Church, so often described as the "mystical body" of Christ, and does not this stand in the way of according it the status of a truly political theory? This might well have been the case had the conciliarists used the expression *corpus Christi* in its patristic sense, but Henri de Lubac and others have shown that from the mid-twelfth century, in their anxiety to stress the doctrine of the Real Presence, theologians chose to designate the Eucharist not as the "mystical" but as "the true body of Christ [*verum corpus Christi*]."⁵⁴ As a result, the expression *corpus Christi mysticum*, reserved now for the Church, began to lose its sacramental associations and to acquire political and juristic connotations so that by the fourteenth century "mystical body" had become almost a synonym for "moral and political body."⁵⁵

These developments are clearly reflected in the writing of the Parisian conciliarists⁵⁶ and may also be reflected in the extensive use that they make of a related distinction concerning the nature of ecclesiastical power. This power (following a well-established canonistic practice) they divide into a "power of orders" and a "power of jurisdiction."⁵⁷ Whereas the former is the truly sacerdotal,

⁵² D'Ailly, *Additio circa tertiam viam supractam*, in Franz Ehrle, *Martin de Alpartils Chronica Actitatorum* (Paderborn, 1906), 506.

⁵³ D'Ailly, *Disputatio*, in Hardt, *Rerum concilii oecumenici*, II, 225-27.

⁵⁴ Henri de Lubac, *Corpus Mysticum: L'Eucharistie et l'église au Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1944), esp. Chap. v, 117-37; cf. Ernst Kantorowicz, *The King's Two Bodies: A Study in Mediaeval Political Theology* (Princeton, N. J., 1957), 193-206, where he notes the relevance of this change to secular political thinking.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, 211-12.

⁵⁶ They are reflected to such a degree, in fact, that D'Ailly can describe the general council as being "as it were, a mystical body" (*Tractatus de ecclesiastica potestate*, in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 953), Major can discuss "the mystical body" of Scotland (*John Major's History of Greater Britain*, tr. Archibald Constable [Edinburgh, 1892], 214, 220), and Gerson can speak "with some regularity" of the mystical body of France (see Kantorowicz, *King's Two Bodies*, 218-19). For further examples of the "juridicized" version of *corpus mysticum*, see the texts of D'Ailly cited in Oakley, *Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly*, 59-61; Gerson, *De auferabilitate papae ab ecclesiae*, in *id.*, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 210A, 221B; Almain, *Quaestio resumptiva . . . de dominio naturali*, *ibid.*, 964A, 972A, *Tractatus de auctoritate ecclesiae*, *ibid.*, 977C-D. Even when Almain (*ibid.*, 979D-80A) contrasts with any mere *corpus politicum* the Church which is the *corpus Christi mysticum*, no sacramental connotations cling to the latter expression.

⁵⁷ Gerson, *De potestate ecclesiastica*, in *id.*, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 228-29, and *De auferabilitate papae*, *ibid.*, 215-16; D'Ailly, *Tractatus de ecclesiastica potestate*, *ibid.*, 927-28, 932D-33A, 950; Almain, *Expositio*, *ibid.*, 1068A-B; John Major, *In quartum sententiarum*, dist. 24, qu. 3 (Paris, 1516), fol. clvii r, col. 2. For a discussion of the distinction, see *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, ed. Raoul Naz (7 vols., Paris, 1935-65), VI, 1148-50, *s.v.* "Ordre en droit occidentale"; VII, 77-108, *s.v.* "Pouvoirs de l'église."

sacramental power at whose heart lies the power to make present in the Eucharist the *corpus Christi verum*, the latter is the administrative and judicial power over the Church, the *corpus Christi mysticum*.⁵⁸

About the power of orders the conciliarists have very little to say. It is not central to their concern. It may well come from above. It may well leave on the souls of those who possess it an indelible character that the authority even of a general council is powerless to efface. But, then, the pope does not base his pre-eminence in the Church on his possession of orders. How could he, indeed? The papacy is not a distinct sacerdotal order; nor does the pope have the power of orders in any higher degree than do the other bishops.⁵⁹ His claims to invulnerability rest and have to rest upon the nature of his jurisdictional power, and it is upon an analysis of that power that the Parisian conciliarists bend their efforts.

They begin by stressing a further canonistic distinction. The power of jurisdiction, they say, is twofold in that it is exercised over both the internal and the external forum.⁶⁰ The former concerns the domain of the individual conscience; it is a power exercised above all by means of sacramental penance and is directed to the private good of the individual. The conciliarists disagree about the extent to which it is to be regarded as truly jurisdictional in essence,⁶¹ but they do agree that it is a power that can be exercised only over those who voluntarily submit themselves to its sway.⁶² This is not the case, however, with the power of jurisdiction in the external forum, for that is a coercive power exercised even over the unwilling. It is, therefore, a *potestas regiminis*, a truly gov-

⁵⁸ D'Ailly, *Tractatus de ecclesiastica potestate*, in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 932D-33A; Almain, *Expositio*, *ibid.*, 1068B-C; Major, *Disputatio de statu et potestate ecclesiae*, *ibid.*, 1127B-C; Gerson, *De potestate ecclesiastica*, *ibid.*, 228-29, 255-56. Gerson introduces a further complication here by distinguishing between the power of consecration itself, which pertains to the *corpus Christi verum*, and the power of administering the Eucharist and the other sacraments to the members of the faithful, which pertains to the *corpus Christi mysticum* (though clearly in a different fashion than does the *potestas jurisdictionis*). D'Ailly classifies this power as pertaining to the *potestas jurisdictionis in foro interiori*, and Almain follows suit.

⁵⁹ Gerson, *De auferabilitate papae*, *ibid.*, 219C; cf. Gerson, *De potestate ecclesiastica*, *ibid.*, 229C; D'Ailly, *Tractatus de ecclesiastica potestate*, *ibid.*, 950C. and *Utrum Petri ecclesia lege reguletur*, *ibid.*, 668; Major, *In quartum sententiarum*, dist. 24, qu. 3, fol. clvii r, col. 2; Almain, *Expositio*, in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 1024A-B.

⁶⁰ Gerson, *De potestate ecclesiastica*, *ibid.*, 228B; D'Ailly, *Tractatus de ecclesiastica potestate*, *ibid.*, 957B-C; cf. D'Ailly, *Tractatus de materia*, ed. Oakley, 304; Almain, *Tractatus de auctoritate ecclesiae*, in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 987C-D, and *Quaestio resumptiva . . . de dominio naturali*, *ibid.*, 967A; Major, *Disputatio de auctoritate concilii*, *ibid.*, 1133A-B.

⁶¹ Thus Gerson stresses the intimacy of its links with the *potestas ordinis*, while D'Ailly and, after him, Almain seem more disposed to treat it as appertaining fully to the *potestas jurisdictionis*. (See Gerson, *De potestate ecclesiastica*, *ibid.*, 232-33; D'Ailly, *Tractatus de ecclesiastica potestate*, *ibid.*, 957B-C, and *Tractatus de materia*, ed. Oakley, 304; Almain, *Quaestio resumptiva . . . de dominio naturali*, in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 967A, and *Expositio*, *ibid.*, 1024.) This disagreement has persisted into the modern era among the canonists, despite the introduction of a further distinction, this time of the *potestas jurisdictionis in foro interiori* into its extrasacramental and sacramental aspects. For a discussion and bibliography, see *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, ed. Naz, VII, 98-100, s.v. "Pouvoirs de l'église."

⁶² Gerson, *De potestate ecclesiastica in id.*, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 232D-33A; Almain, *Quaestio resumptiva . . . de dominio naturali*, *ibid.*, 967A. D'Ailly and Major do not face the issue as squarely, but cf. Major, *Disputatio de auctoritate concilii*, *ibid.*, 1133B; and D'Ailly, *Tractatus de ecclesiastica potestate*, *ibid.*, 927-28.

ernmental power.⁶³ It pertains, not to any merely voluntary society, but to a public authority, and it is this power alone that these conciliarists have in mind when they assert the superiority of council to pope.⁶⁴ For not even the highest of papalists would deny that the pope was subject to ecclesiastical jurisdiction in the internal forum (did he, too, not have his confessor?), and not even the most radical of conciliarists would claim that the general council as such was endowed with the power of orders.

The arguments of the Parisian conciliarists focus, then, and to a remarkable degree upon precisely that sector where ecclesiastical power is at its closest, in quality if not in purpose, to secular governmental authority.⁶⁵ This fact is fundamental and should be clearly recognized. But close though the relationship may be, there is still room for some reservations about any univocal treatment of the secular and ecclesiastical polities. And such reservations are in fact betrayed, if not to any noteworthy degree by D'Ailly and Major, at least by Gerson and Almain.

It is true, they might be portrayed as saying, that the power of coercive jurisdiction in the public sphere is indeed the power possessed more fully by the general council than by the pope.⁶⁶ It is also true that this power is close to the sort of power wielded by secular rulers.⁶⁷ But differences between them do nevertheless exist and nowhere more strikingly than in the manner of their original institution.⁶⁸ That ecclesiastical power is ordained for the attainment of a

⁶³ D'Ailly, *Utrum Petri ecclesia lege reguletur*, *ibid.*, I, 667-68; Gerson, *De potestate ecclesiastica*, *ibid.*, II, 230-31; Almain, *Quaestio resumptiva . . . de dominio naturali*, *ibid.*, 967A, 969D, *Tractatus de auctoritate ecclesiae*, *ibid.*, 980B-D, 987C, *Expositio*, *ibid.*, 1068B-C.

⁶⁴ "Concilium Generale, legitime congregatum, immediate a Christo habet illam Potestatem coërcitivam in Foro exteriori et publico, loquar enim de Potestate quae respicit Forum exterius: nam Concilium Generale non habet Potestatem consecrandi neque absolvendi sacramentaliter, cum non sit Sacerdos. Est solummodo quaestio de Potestate Jurisdictionis, in Foro exteriori, quam auctoritatem habet a Christo immediate, et non a Papa." (*Ibid.*, 1068A-B.) Major takes it so much for granted that the question concerns the *potestas jurisdictionis in foro exteriori* that he impatiently brushes aside the possibility that any other power might be involved. (See Major, *Disputatio de auctoritate concilii*, in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 1133A-B.)

⁶⁵ I do not wish to oversimplify. These theorists disagree on more than one point. Thus, whereas D'Ailly and the others regard the expression *plenitudo potestatis* as denoting solely the *potestas jurisdictionis* (D'Ailly can even refer to it as the *plenitudo jurisdictionis* in *Tractatus de ecclesiastica potestate*, *ibid.*, 950C), Gerson is not so sure (*De potestate ecclesiastica*, *ibid.*, 239C-D). Present, moreover, in some of their arguments is an element that could hardly be at home in any truly political theory: the belief in conciliar inerrancy in doctrinal matters, which they use as an argument for the superiority of council to pope. (See *ibid.*, 248D; Major, *Disputatio de auctoritate concilii*, in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 1136B; Almain, *Tractatus de auctoritate ecclesiae*, *ibid.*, 1001A-B, 1003B. On this matter D'Ailly is something of an exception. He regarded conciliar infallibility as no more than a pious belief; see Francis Oakley, "Pierre d'Ailly and Papal Infallibility," *Mediaeval Studies*, XXVI [1964], 353-58.) It is true that only in the last century have canonists begun to regard the *magisterium* as something to be distinguished from jurisdiction, that is, as a third power side by side with the powers of order and jurisdiction. (See *Dictionnaire de droit canonique*, ed. Naz, VI, 695-96, s.v. "Magistère ecclésiastique.") But the introduction of the notion of inerrancy into arguments ancillary to the conciliar thesis does do something to qualify its political nature.

⁶⁶ Gerson, *De potestate ecclesiastica*, in *id.*, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 243-44, where he points out that the general council *as such* can do nothing that requires the *potestas ordinis*. (Almain, *Tractatus de auctoritate ecclesiae*, *ibid.*, 991B-D, and *Expositio*, *ibid.*, 1068A-B.)

⁶⁷ Gerson, *De potestate ecclesiastica*, *ibid.*, 230-31.

⁶⁸ The central texts on this point are Almain, *Tractatus de auctoritate ecclesiae*, *ibid.*, 979D-80D; Gerson, *De potestate ecclesiastica*, *ibid.*, 238-39, a text, however, where he is speaking of ecclesiastical power in general and draws no distinction between the powers of orders and jurisdiction. (Cf. *ibid.*,

supernatural rather than a natural end and that it cannot be exercised over all men but only over the baptized might not prevent its theoretical assimilation to governmental power in general; the important point is that the ecclesiastical and secular powers are both established for the edification and not for the destruction of their respective communities.⁶⁹ On the matter of their original institution, however, the obstacle is real. Secular political power is natural; in accordance with natural law it can be instituted by men; it can also be framed by men in more than one constitutional form. Ecclesiastical power, on the other hand, is supernatural; it has been instituted directly by Christ; so, too, has its supreme manifestation, the papal office. It is necessary to insist, therefore, that the papal office in particular and ecclesiastical authority in general contain an element beyond the scope of any merely human constitutive power.⁷⁰ It is necessary to insist, too, that the constitution of the Church, unlike that of any secular polity, is immutably monarchic.⁷¹

The contrast suggested by these arguments is not, however, as stark as it may seem. All of these conciliarists, to a greater or lesser degree, are theologians of nominalist sympathies. As a result, all are extremely careful to avoid implying that the freedom of the Divine Will is in any way bound either by the norms of natural morality or by the divinely established arrangements of ecclesiastical life. To underline this fact, they make use of the familiar distinction between the ordained or ordinary power of God (*potentia dei ordinata*), by which He chooses to regulate His activity in the world in accordance with the revealed and natural laws that He has established, and the absolute power (*potentia dei absoluta*), by which He can do anything that does not involve a formal contradiction.⁷² All these conciliarists, as a result, are understandably conscious of the radical contingency not only of the structures of ecclesiastical power that Christ established but also of the mandates of natural law and of the merely human dispositions of secular political power; these, too, in their different ways, reflect the incessant workings of the Divine Will.⁷³ God, the first cause, is the

227; Almain, *Quaestio resumptiva . . . de dominio naturali*, in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 966D-67A, and *Expositio*, *ibid.*, 1014C-D, 1018C-19B, 1113B-C.)

⁶⁹ See, e.g., Almain, *Tractatus de auctoritate ecclesiae*, *ibid.*, 991B-D.

⁷⁰ See esp. *ibid.*, 979D-80D; Gerson, *De potestate ecclesiastica*, in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 227, 238-39.

⁷¹ Gerson, *De auferabilitate papae*, *ibid.*, 213C-D; Almain, *Quaestio resumptiva . . . de dominio naturali*, *ibid.*, 970A, and *Expositio*, *ibid.*, 1027D, 1074D.

⁷² For a useful recent discussion of the role of this distinction in nominalist theology, see Heiko A. Oberman, *The Harvest of Medieval Theology: Gabriel Biel and Late Medieval Nominalism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1963), 30-56, and, in relation to natural law, 100-11. For instances of its use by these conciliarists, see Francis Oakley, "Pierre d'Ailly and the Absolute Power of God," *Harvard Theological Review*, LVI (No. 1, 1963), 59-73; John Major, *In primum sententiarum*, I, dist. 44, qu. 1 (Paris, 1510), fol. civ; Almain, *Moralia*, *Tractatus III*, in *Aurea clarissimi et acutissimi doctoris theologi Magistri Jacobi Almain* (Paris, 1517), fol. 74v. For Gerson, see note 73, below.

⁷³ Hence they had a tendency to qualify their arguments with the reminder that what they said is true only *stante lege* or *de communi lege* or *de lege ordinata* or *stante ordinationi dei* (i.e., given the persistence of the order established in accordance with God's ordained power). Gerson's *De potestate ecclesiastica* is heavily punctuated with such qualifications. (See, e.g., Gerson, *De potestate ecclesiastica*, in *id.*, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 227D, 228D, 229A, 238C, *Sermo*: 'Ambulate dum lucem habetis', *ibid.*, 205C, and *De auferabilitate papae*, *ibid.*, 210A, 210D, 213A, 220A; cf. Almain,

Lord Creator of all things, and "just as the divine will is the first efficient cause in the genus of efficient causality, so also is it the first obligating rule or law in the genus of obligating law." Similarly, "just as every secondary cause is contingent upon the first cause, so from the first and supreme lordship [*dominium*] is derived every secondary lordship."⁷⁴

For these conciliarists, therefore, the Pauline dictum that all power is of God takes on a heightened significance. If the establishment of secular political authority, unlike ecclesiastical, is the outcome of human agencies working in accordance with the dictates of the natural law, this must not be taken to imply that that law or those agencies are autonomous. For God, after all, is "the founder of nature," and it is His obligating Will that establishes the natural law.⁷⁵ Differ though they may, temporal and ecclesiastical power both have to be regarded as the effects, at one remove or another, of the same first cause. Nor are they effects of a remote cause, for the realm of natural morality is impregnated with the Divine Will no less than is the realm of ecclesiastical order.

Viewed in this perspective, then, the difference in the manner of institution of the secular and ecclesiastical powers, though it persists of course, is reduced dramatically in significance. And even if it does persist, it is not, after all, immediately relevant, for Gerson and Almain now introduce one final distinction, the most familiar one of all, that between the institution of a given power or office and its communication or "concession" to a particular person or persons. Thus, though the ecclesiastical power of coercive jurisdiction may differ from secular political power in that it was *originally* instituted not mediately via secondary human causes but immediately by Christ, the first cause, it is at one with that secular power in the merely human dispositions by which it is communicated by the community of the faithful to the individual officeholders in the Church.⁷⁶ Again, though the papal office may be of direct divine institution and the imperial office or the kingship may not, it is by such "created titles" as election and hereditary succession that individual popes, emperors, and kings alike succeed to their respective offices. And in the secular no less than the ecclesiastical worlds, if those "created titles" possess any validity at all, it is simply

Expositio, *ibid.*, 1016D, 1024D, 1026A; for D'Ailly, see Oakley, *Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly*, 27-32, 89-91, 184-97.)

⁷⁴ Pierre D'Ailly, *Quaestiones super I, III et IV Sententiarum* (Lyons, 1500), I, qu. 14, art. 3, Q, fol. 173r, *Principium in II Sententiarum*, *ibid.*, J, fol. 29r, *De legitimo dominio*, in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, I, 642.

⁷⁵ Almain, *Tractatus de auctoritate ecclesiae*, *ibid.*, II, 977C, and *Expositio*, *ibid.*, 1014A-D, 1072A-79A. Here Almain follows closely in the steps of D'Ailly much of whose criticism of Richard Fitzralph's doctrine of *dominium* as contingent on grace is relevant. (See Oakley, *Political Thought of Pierre d'Ailly*, Chap. II, esp. 75-91; for his theory of natural law, see *ibid.*, Chap. VI, esp. 188-96; cf. Louis Vereeke, "Droit et morale chez Jean Gerson," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger*, XXXII [No. 3, 1954], 413-27.)

⁷⁶ For particularly succinct statements on this point, see Almain, *Expositio*, in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 1113B, and *Tractatus de auctoritate ecclesiae*, *ibid.*, 980A-B; cf. *ibid.*, 991B-C; Gerson, *De potestate ecclesiastica*, *ibid.*, 238C, and *De auferabilitate papae*, *ibid.*, 214C; Major, *Disputatio de auctoritate concilii*, *ibid.*, 1139C-D; and D'Ailly, *Tractatus de ecclesiastica potestate*, *ibid.*, 936, 938C.

because God freely associates with them His approving Will, for it is God “who first and principally gives authority.”⁷⁷ But to say that, of course, is to say also that the modes by which power is communicated to the individual officeholder in both ecclesiastical and secular polities differ neither in the merely natural or human character of the agencies involved nor in their radical contingency upon the concurrence of the Divine Will.

Figgis was correct, then, in his assessment of the political significance of conciliar theory, and Ullmann and Morrall, it seems, are wrong. The countless examples and analogies that these Parisian conciliarists draw from the political theory and practice of the secular world⁷⁸ are not merely the flamboyant advance skirmishers of a revived episcopatism. They are integral to the central aggressive thrust of conciliar theory, and their line of march has been cleared in advance by the barrage of juristic and theological distinctions previously discussed. For with the final distinction between the supernaturally instituted office and the naturally appointed officeholder, the doubts evinced earlier by Gerson and Almain are demolished and the way opened for the free exploitation of the implications of Ullmann’s “ascending conception” of governmental authority.

On this matter, none of the others, perhaps, is quite so explicit as D’Ailly, who argues that when Christ gave Peter authority to establish his episcopal see where he wished, this in no way deprived his chosen flock of that natural right “which belongs to all those over whom any authority either secular or ecclesiastical is placed—that is, the right to elect their ruler.”⁷⁹ But all of them insist repeatedly that the right of the Church to rid itself of an incorrigible head and to prevent its own destruction is not simply a right based on ecclesiastical custom or derived from canon law: it is an inalienable right pertaining to all “free communities” and grounded in the dictates of natural law itself.⁸⁰

In so doing (and the fact should not escape us), these conciliarists are making claims more universal than many of those advanced later by constitutionalists whose memory has been more widely honored. Not for them the historically minded traditionalism of a François Hotman or a Chief Justice Sir Edward Coke. Nor the conservative radicalism of an Oliver Cromwell or a Henry Ireton. Nor, indeed, any of those increasingly unpersuasive appeals to the age-old rights and freedoms of Frenchmen, or of Englishmen, or, for that matter, of cardinals

⁷⁷ D’Ailly, *Utrum indoctus in jure divino*, *ibid.*, I, 647; cf. the discussion in Oakley, *Political Thought of Pierre d’Ailly*, 85–91; Almain, *Expositio*, in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 1077A–79A, and *Tractatus de auctoritate ecclesiae*, *ibid.*, 977C.

⁷⁸ For some representative passages, see Gerson, *Tractatus de unitate ecclesiae*, *ibid.*, 114D–15A, *Sermo: ‘Prosperum iter faciet,’* *ibid.*, 279B–D, *De auferabilitate papae*, *ibid.*, 216A, *De potestate ecclesiastica*, *ibid.*, 240A, 253–55; Almain, *Quaestio resumptiva . . . de dominio naturali*, *ibid.*, 970A, *Expositio*, *ibid.*, 1024B, 1075D–76A, 1107D, *Tractatus de auctoritate ecclesiae*, *ibid.*, 991A–D, 1009A–D. For Major, see Oakley, “On the Road from Constance to 1688,” 13–19; for D’Ailly, *id.*, *Political Thought of Pierre d’Ailly*, esp. 52–54.

⁷⁹ D’Ailly, *Tractatus de ecclesiastica potestate*, in Gerson, *Opera*, ed. Dupin, II, 936.

⁸⁰ Gerson, *Tractatus de unitate*, *ibid.*, 114D–15D, and *De auferabilitate papae*, *ibid.*, 215C–216A; Almain, *Tractatus de auctoritate ecclesiae*, *ibid.*, 1009A–B; Major, *Disputatio de auctoritate concilii*, *ibid.*, 1134D–35A, 1136A; D’Ailly, *Propositiones Utiles*, *ibid.*, 112–13, and *Tractatus de ecclesiastica potestate*, *ibid.*, 956A.

of the Roman Church.⁸¹ Such rights, after all, were rooted merely in custom or in the positive law. In going one step further and grounding them in the natural law itself, these conciliarists, then, are doing nothing less than taking the doctrine of consent that is basic to so much of medieval legal and constitutional theory and practice, disengaging it from the particularizing elements of regional, national, or ecclesiastical custom, and raising it to the level of a political philosophy.

In the light of this development the appeal of the conciliar precedent to the Protestant resistance theorists of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries becomes more readily comprehensible. By citing that precedent, it is true, the Protestants laid themselves open to the charge of having drawn their ideas from "the polluted cisterns" of papist doctrine. But at a time when absolute monarchy was coming more and more to be regarded as the only civilized form of government and when the traditional medieval limitations on monarchical power were coming to be dismissed as "inefficient clogs upon the wheels of government, not merely wrong but stupid,"⁸² the notably universal expression that the Parisian conciliar theorists had given to the principles underlying the medieval constitutional tradition took on a heightened significance. Because of this universal expression of principles, Ponet himself could claim that "by this lawe [of nature] and argumentes of the Canonistes and example of deprivacion of a Pope, are all clokes (wherewith Popes, bishoppes, priestes, kaisers and Kinges use to defende their iniquitie) utterly taken away." Because of this, too, Laski could say that the Council of Constance was "the real watershed between medieval and modern politics."⁸³ Because of this, in effect, Figgis was right.

⁸¹ This last reference is to the oligarchic claims of the Roman cardinals to a constitutional role in the government of the Universal Church. The cardinals were still advancing these claims in the sixteenth century, but, confronted with the growing absolutism of the Renaissance papacy, they were doing so with decreasing success. (See Johann B. Sägmmüller, *Die Thätigkeit und Stellung der Cardinäle* [Freiburg, 1896], 170-92, 215-40; Jedin, *History*, 1, 76-100.)

⁸² Figgis, *Political Thought from Gerson to Grotius*, 60-61.

⁸³ *Shorte Treatise*, ed. Hudson, [105]. Note that the law he refers to here is the "lawe of nature to depose and punishe wicked governours" which "hathe not been only received and exercised in politike maters, but also in the churche." (*Ibid.*, [104]; Laski, "Political Theory in the Later Middle Ages," 626.)

In Quest of Kerygma: Catholic Intellectual Life in Nineteenth-Century France

HARRY W. PAUL

Pécuchet s'en retourna mélancolique. Il avait espéré l'accord de la foi et de la raison. Bouvard lui fit lire ce passage de Louis Hervieu: "Pour connaître l'abîme qui les sépare, opposez leurs axiomes: . . . La raison vous dit: Trois c'est trois, et la foi déclare que: Trois c'est un."¹

Catholic intellectual life in nineteenth-century France? Was there anything that is now worth discussing? Most of the current texts depict the mediocrity of French Catholic thought, especially in clerical ranks, throughout the greater part of the century, or at least until 1875-1914, the period of the "intellectual renaissance of Catholicism and the modernist crisis." It would be reasonable to conclude from much of the historical writing about this topic that a suitable paradigm of French Catholic thought was given by Paul Verlaine's poem *Acte de foi* ("Le seul savant c'est encore Moïse!") or by the Abbé Juefroy's admonition to Bouvard concerning the Trinity ("Adorons sans comprendre"). D. G. Charlton, in his fine study of "secular religions" in France in the nineteenth century, delivered the judgment that Catholic response to the intellectual challenges of the century "was less an attempt at reasoned argument than ecclesiastical repression and bitter abuse at the level of journalists such as Veuillot."² No one has been more critical than the liberal Catholics, chagrined by memories of *Pio Nono* and Louis Veuillot. Adrien Dansette has given a classic caricature: the philosophers did not know Immanuel Kant or his successors; theology was a series of theses supported by unexplained scriptural fragments, linked by tenuous rationalistic arguments; Scripture was little studied except for didactic or polemical tradition-serving purposes; ecclesiastical history was only apology; Christian art, like natural science, was unknown. The Catholic intelligentsia, especially those in the clergy, he argues, did not concern themselves with Positivism or the growth of the "new sciences" such as philology, archaeology, and paleontology, which put much of the Scriptures in doubt. Even the clerical elite did not take full cognizance of the difficulties until after the creation of the Catholic Institutes in the 1870's.³ This

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¹ Gustave Flaubert, *Bouvard et Pécuchet* (Paris, 1959), 336.

² D. G. Charlton, *Secular Religions in France (1815-1870)* (Oxford, Eng., 1963), 23.

³ Adrien Dansette, *Histoire religieuse de la France contemporaine* (2 vols., Paris, 1951), II, 21-24, 439-40.

dismal picture is reproduced in a well-known textbook: "Intellectually speaking, French Catholicism during most of the nineteenth century had been remarkably sterile; there had been some remarkable pioneer ventures into the sphere of social action but little in the realm of thought."⁴ I shall attempt in this article to show the weakness of these opinions, for which recent scholarship gives little support. Writing in 1890, Paul Janet declared, "One of the chief facts of the history of our century has been the reappearance of Christianity or rather Catholicism in the *monde supérieur* of philosophy and of thought."⁵ Concentrating chiefly on the periods of the July Monarchy (1830-1848), the Second Republic, and the Second Empire (1848-1870), although some preliminary consideration of the Restoration is unavoidable, this article will generally sustain the judgment of Janet.

In recent years the historical picture of the Restoration has been retouched to such an extent that it is hardly recognizable as the modern dark age that admirers of the Revolution were prone to depict in historical manuals. The classic rehabilitation of the Restoration is that of Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny: France was never better or more honestly administered; its finances were never better managed; the country received its initiation into parliamentary government; the pre-industrial economy reached its ultimate perfection; and France regained its leadership in science as well as in arts and letters.⁶ Peace, foreign contact, and freedom of expression led to an intellectual blossoming unmatched since the Enlightenment.⁷ It was also the time in secondary education when the university monopoly was broken and when a clerical structure was established. Less pleasant was the purge of anticlericals from the university under Bishop Denys de Frayssinous; Church personnel controlled about a third of the positions in the university by the end of the Restoration.⁸ Thus began the struggle for the control of education that played so large a role in France in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

The intellectual activity of the Restoration has also been subjected to critical re-evaluation, although it is still difficult for many liberal intellectuals to grant that the thought of those who were ferocious in their opposition to the Revolution has any enduring value. Since Joseph de Maistre, the Vicomte de Bonald, René de Chateaubriand, and Félicité de Lamennais (1782-1854), who is really of a new generation, establish positions that their contemporaries and successors modify or

⁴ Gordon Wright, *France in Modern Times* (Chicago, 1960), 375-76. Similarly, Edward R. Tanenbaum concluded "that the nineteenth-century French clergy was almost hopelessly benighted." (Review of René Rémond, *Les deux Congrès ecclésiastiques de Reims et de Bourges, 1896-1900: Un témoignage sur l'Église de France* [Paris, 1964], and Christianne Marclhacy, *Le diocèse d'Orléans au milieu du XIX^e siècle: Les hommes et leurs mentalités* [Paris, 1964], *American Historical Review*, LXXI [Oct. 1965], 209.) For a slightly more favorable judgment, see Joseph N. Moody, "French Liberal Catholics, 1840-1875," in *French Culture and Society since the Old Regime*, ed. Evelyn Acomb and Marvin Brown (New York, 1964), 163, 171.

⁵ Paul Janet, "La philosophie catholique en France au XIX^e siècle," *Revue des deux mondes*, XCVIII (3^e période, 1890), 391.

⁶ Guillaume de Bertier de Sauvigny, *La restauration* (Paris, 1955; new ed., 1963). Of course, France never had to regain leadership in some areas, particularly science.

⁷ *Ibid.*, Chap. v.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 117.

reject, it is difficult to avoid considering the main thrust of their thought before looking at the intellectual activity of the succeeding generation. With the generation of Chateaubriand (1768–1848), about a half generation after Maistre (1753–1821) and Bonald (1754–1840), stands the antitraditionalist philosopher and Restoration politician Maine de Biran (1766–1824). Like the Prince de Talleyrand and Joseph Fouché, Maine de Biran served a variety of regimes: he was administrator of the Dordogne, 1795–1797; a member of the *Conseil des cinq-cents*, 1797–1798; *sous-préfet* of Bergerac, 1806–1812; a deputy and quaestor of the Chamber in the Restoration. A moderate, he voted with the liberals until 1817, but then shifted Right to defend royal power against anarchy and despotism. “Like Joseph de Maistre and . . . Bonald, like Benjamin Constant and Saint-Simon, like Charles Dunoyer and Auguste Comte, Maine de Biran grapples as a philosopher with the political problem of the ‘restoration.’”⁹ It can be plausibly argued that Biran provided a philosophical underpinning for French religious thought in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, although this influence was not evident until later in the nineteenth century.¹⁰

Biran, “the greatest French metaphysician since Descartes and Malebranche,”¹¹ modified his early analytic empiricism to admit that one’s internal experience of voluntary movement of body is an important source of knowledge. Biran’s axiomatic “Je veux, donc je suis,” placing him within Charles Augustin Sainte-Beuve’s family of *méditatifs intérieurs*¹² (Michel Eyquem de Montaigne, Blaise Pascal, René Descartes, Jean Jacques Rousseau, and others), gave post-Enlightenment French psychology a new antisensationalist orientation and established a new metaphysic of man, which, like Henri Bergson’s, later, followed Augustine’s “Intravi in intima mea. . . .” His *Fragments relatifs aux fondements de la morale et de la religion* (Paris, 1818) justified belief in the soul and in God on the basis of man’s natural propensity for the Absolute. As Emmanuel Mounier saw, Biran was his precursor in developing a mystical personalism hostile to philosophical systems and absolute rationalism.¹³ Although he denounced the rejection of

⁹ Henri Gouhier, “Introduction,” *Œuvres choisies de Maine de Biran* (Paris, 1942), 11.

¹⁰ Roger Daval, *Histoire des idées en France* (Paris, 1965), 75. Biran wrote much and published little. One of his chief editors was Victor Cousin, who brought out some of his work in 1838 and 1841. For details, see Gouhier, “Introduction,” *Œuvres choisies*.

¹¹ Louis Foucher, *La philosophie catholique en France au XIX^e siècle avant la renaissance thomiste et dans son rapport avec elle* (Paris, 1955), attributes a similar statement to Cousin. Henri Gouhier, “Maine de Biran et Bergson,” *Les études bergsoniennes* (Paris, 1948), I, 145, gives Henri Bergson as the source of the remark.

¹² See Philip P. Hallie, “Hume, Biran and the *méditatifs intérieurs*,” *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XVIII (No. 3, 1957), 295–312. This tradition, emphasizing the claim that an authentic insight into reality derives from internal experience, is found in Félix Ravaisson-Mollien, Jules Lachelier, and Charles Renouvier in the nineteenth century and in Bergson, Gabriel Marcel, and Jean-Paul Sartre in the twentieth century.

¹³ “Ce qui fait la valeur . . . de sa philosophie, c’est qu’elle se confond avec sa vie intérieure. . . . Son plus beau livre . . . c’est sa vie: les autres ne sont que des jalons qui marquent des étapes.” (*Vie Catholique*, Sept. 3, 1927, quoted in Candide Moix, *La pensée d’Emmanuel Mounier* [Paris, 1960], 53.) For Biran, reason did not lead to God: “Dieu est objet d’expérience intérieure . . . ; l’expérience de Dieu est une expérience mystique.” (Geneviève Barbillon, *De l’idée de Dieu dans la philosophie de Maine de Biran* [Grenoble, 1927], Chaps. IV, V.)

philosophy by Bonald ("histrion de la philosophie"), Biran did not think that philosophy gave complete answers to all questions. His *Nouvelles considérations sur les rapports du physique et du morale* (Paris, 1818) showed that "Christianity alone embraces the whole man."

The seminal influence of Biran in French philosophy, especially his establishment of the "most original and profound" elements of nineteenth-century religious philosophy, is widely recognized.¹⁴ But it is debatable whether, as the modern clerical scholar Louis Foucher claims, Biran clearly put to the nineteenth century the orthodox principle of a Catholic philosophy. This claim could be made equally for several varieties of Protestantism; as Lucien Laberthonnière pointed out to Maurice Blondel in 1894, Biran clearly had the idea of a Christian philosophy. But Janet thought that Biran "gave France a philosophy of the mind . . . not a religious philosophy."¹⁵ It is clear that Biran himself finally returned to the Catholic Church in order to experience the presence of Christ. Thus the last thought of Biran, showing the clearly Christian philosopher, is not in his written work but in the last sacrament, taken from Bishop Frayssinous: "L'heure d'écrire est passée."¹⁶

More tangible and immediate was the influence of Chateaubriand, whose real target was, Janet argued, Voltaire, who had made unbelief fashionable. In bringing about the triumph of the idea of the poetry of Christianity, "Chateaubriand conquered Voltaire." Janet thought that the great influence of Chateaubriand and his school could be seen by comparing the attitude of the Marquis de Condorcet with that of Comte on Catholicism, one of the few issues on which they differed. The historically based "apology" of Comte for Catholicism is incomprehensible except in the light of the previous apology of Chateaubriand.¹⁷ A revolution had taken place in the attitude of a part of the intellectual world toward religion. Chateaubriand reinforced the influence of Rousseau, whose *sensibilité chrétienne*, in spite of his hostility toward established religion, had great influence in the early nineteenth century in favor of Catholicism.¹⁸ The pragmatic aspect of Chateaubriand's apology, emphasizing the social value of religion

¹⁴ Philip P. Hallie, *Maine de Biran: Reformer of Empiricism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959), 196-97. The influence of Biran on Bergson was indirect, through Ravaisson. Bergson went from *bergsonisme* to *biranisme*. Although both based their metaphysics on psychology, they are different types of religious thinkers. (Gouhier, *Études bergsonniennes*, I, 131-73; see also Michelangelo Ghio, *Maine de Biran e la tradizione biraniana in Francia* [2d ed., Turin, 1962].)

¹⁵ Maurice Blondel and Lucien Laberthonnière, *Correspondance philosophique*, ed. Claude Tresmontant (Paris, 1961), 84; Paul Janet, "Le spiritualisme français au dix-neuvième siècle," *Revue des deux mondes*, LXXV (2^e période, 1868), 370. Msgr. A. de la Valette Montbrun, *Maine de Biran critique et disciple de Pascal* (Paris, 1914), 287, noted that his "journal intime" hardly ever spoke of Catholic dogma and argued that he could not be regarded as a true Catholic.

¹⁶ See Henri Gouhier, *Les conversions de Maine de Biran* (Paris, 1948), esp. Chap. vii; see also Gerhard Funke, *Maine de Biran: Philosophisches und politisches Denken zwischen Ancien Régime und Bürgerkönigtum in Frankreich* (Bonn, 1947), 257-70.

¹⁷ Janet, "Philosophie catholique en France," 391-423.

¹⁸ Of course, those influenced like Pierre Ballanche and Joubert recognized the "deficiencies" of Rousseau from a Catholic viewpoint. P.-M. Masson, *La religion de J.-J. Rousseau* (3 vols., Paris, 1916), III, 224-25, emphasized these deficiencies. In his criticism of Masson, Albert Schinz, *La pensée religieuse de J.-J. Rousseau et ses récents interprètes* (Paris, 1928), is misleading because he does not emphasize the ambivalent attitude of Catholics toward Rousseau.

("il faut une religion ou la société périt," he concluded in his *Essai historique sur les révolutions anciennes et modernes*), linked him to the traditionalism of Bonald and Maistre. Although disagreeing with Bonald's philosophy, he supported the idea of finding intellectual security in tradition as interpreted by the religious authorities, rather than in Cartesian doubt.

The untenable idea that Bonald, Maistre, and Lamennais were the trinity of an ill-defined traditionalist philosophy is still current.¹⁹ Although Maistre appealed to the general consent as a criterion of truth, he was too much influenced by eighteenth-century rationalism to fail to see that traditionalism could easily lead to skepticism, thus sapping the foundations of faith. Maistre's warning to Lamennais after the appearance of the second volume of the *Essai sur l'indifférence* (Paris, 1820) showed his disagreement with Lamennais's variety of traditionalism. Richard Lebrun's recent work has shown how the liberal clichés about Maistre are either wrong or hopelessly misleading.²⁰ Few writers seem to realize that Maistre was not an orthodox Catholic apologist. In his reaction against the practical atheism of the eighteenth century, Maistre sometimes lapsed into an occasionalism close to that of the seventeenth-century Catholic philosopher Nicolas Malebranche. He knew little about Scholasticism and was deficient in Catholic theology and philosophy. Anti-Lockean, he claimed to hold a modified Cartesian doctrine of innate ideas: God had made certain simple notions innate in man. "In all this, he seems to approach much nearer to the 'ethical theology' of Rousseau and Kant than to orthodox Catholic ideas."²¹ Although "Maistre's ferocious contempt for the Enlightenment hides similarities as much as it reveals differences,"²² his use of Cartesian *innéisme* against the empirical exaggerations of Francis Bacon and John Locke placed him in opposition to the leading philosophes, just as his espousal of Christianity placed him in the forefront of the religious revival of the early nineteenth century.

In a lecture given at Chambéry in 1956, Gilbert Durand drew a philosophic portrait of Maistre, which, in spite of its existentialist outlook, is one of the most penetrating short analyses of Maistre's thought. Durand argues that the hermeneutic Martinist formation of the young Masonic Maistre gave his philosophy the same accents as meditation of Scripture and esoteric traditions gave the great German Romantics. Maistre's analogical thought is the daughter of Martinist symbolism. But Durand voices an existentialist regret that Maistre's thought be-

¹⁹ See, e.g., Charlton, *Secular Religions*, 10-11; and Roland N. Stromberg, *An Intellectual History of Modern Europe* (New York, 1966), 225-29. Although Stromberg recognizes the sociological content of traditionalist theory, he says nothing about traditionalism qua philosophy.

²⁰ Richard Lebrun, *Throne and Altar: The Political and Religious Thought of Joseph de Maistre* (Ottawa, 1965), 41-44, and the forthcoming "Joseph de Maistre, Cassandra of Science," *French Historical Studies*, VI (No. 2, 1969). Lamennais, "the herald of traditionalism," also differed in many respects from Bonald. (Alex R. Vidler, *Prophecy and Papacy: A Study of Lamennais, the Church and the Revolution* [New York, 1954], 78.)

²¹ Jack Lively, *The Works of Joseph de Maistre* (New York, 1965), 19. For a regurgitation of the "liberal clichés" about Maistre, see Peter Gay's review of *ibid.*, *New York Times*, Mar. 14, 1965.

²² Lively, *Works of Joseph de Maistre*, 45.

came contaminated through "la fabulation historique" in the attempt to base its realism and archetypes on history. As Durand sees, of course, the philosophical thought of Maistre was secondary to his political work, which was concerned with the problems posed by the breakup of European unity and by the task of defining liberty after the revolutionary-Napoleonic holocaust. Maistre's philosophy, his political positivism, and his sociological pluralism influenced the Comte de Saint-Simon, Auguste Comte, Charles Baudelaire, Maurice Barrès, and Charles Maurras. Both Baudelaire ("De Maistre et Edgar Poe m'apprirent à raisonner") and Comte ("Condorcet dut être, pour moi, complété par de Maistre, dont je m'appropriai tous les principes essentiels") testified to the strong influence of Maistre on their thought.²³

Like Maistre, Bonald defended revealed religion as the foundation of society and Christianity as the organ of true civilization. Bonald's traditionalist sociology, which had a profound effect on French sociology from Comte to Émile Durkheim, had its foundation in his philosophy of being and of man and especially in his epistemology.²⁴ Bonald attributed language to divine revelation. Since language is necessary for thought, man could not have invented it. "Bonald's system is a synthesis of Malebranche, who teaches him the universality and necessity of ideas, and Condillac, who makes language a necessary condition of the act of intelligence."²⁵ In spite of the retention of a certain *innéisme*, Bonald substituted the evidence of authority, divine in its origin and social in its transmission, for the authority of individual and human evidence.²⁶ But far from providing a philosophical substitute for the Catholic Cartesianism prevalent in clerical circles, Bonald's system became the incubus of orthodoxy because of the confusion it injected into the idea of revelation as a result of his mingling the natural and the

²³ See Gilbert Durand, "Portrait philosophique de Joseph de Maistre," *Cahiers d'histoire*, I (No. 1, 1956), 289-302; see also Mary Alphonsus, *The Influence of Joseph de Maistre on Baudelaire* (Bryn Mawr, Pa., 1943); E. M. Cioran, *Joseph de Maistre* (Paris, 1957); and Francis Bayle, *Les idées politiques de Joseph de Maistre* (Paris, 1945). Albert Camus, *The Rebel*, tr. Anthony Bower (New York, 1954), 162-64, makes an interesting structural analogy between Maistre's aim of the universal Christian city and the messianic formulas of Hegel and Marx. The latest and probably best study of Maistre is Robert Triomphe, *Joseph de Maistre: Étude sur la vie et sur la doctrine d'un matérialiste mystique* (Geneva, 1967).

²⁴ For a study of the rationalistic structure of Bonald's sociological traditionalism and its influence down to Maurras, see Robert Spaemann, *Der Ursprung der Soziologie aus dem Geist der Restauration: Studien über L.G.A. Bonald* (Munich, 1961). Bonald's contribution to social thought and his connection with social pluralism are shown by Robert A. Nisbet, "De Bonald and the Concept of the Social Group," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, V (No. 3, 1944), 315-31. By contrast, Lamennais was, it can be maintained, more social prophet than pioneer sociologist. (See J.E.S. Hayward, "Lamennais and the Religion of Social Consensus," *Archives de sociologie des religions* [No. 21, 1966], 37-46.) But François Brousse, *Lamennais et le christianisme universel* (Paris, 1963), 108-109, argues that Lamennais was a powerful precursor of Durkheim and sees the "raison universelle" of Lamennais as at least a functional equivalent of Durkheim's "mentalité collective." "Both also regard religious feeling as the essential and primordial feeling of the human race. . . ."

²⁵ Émile Bréhier, *Histoire de la philosophie* (2 vols., Paris, 1957), II, 589; for the internal contradictions of Bonald's system, see *ibid.*, 589-90.

²⁶ Foucher, *Philosophie catholique*, 25. This work is an essential supplement to Félix Ravaisson's *La philosophie en France au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1867), which gave little importance to Catholic philosophy. For a general treatment of relationships between nineteenth-century philosophers and Christianity, see A.-D. Sertillanges, *Le christianisme et les philosophes* (2 vols., Paris, 1941), II.

supernatural. The stages of primitive, Mosaic, and Christian revelation accepted by orthodoxy were effaced, moreover, by the primacy of the original revelation. This danger became plain in Lamennais's *Esquisse* (1840): the truths necessary for salvation exist in ancient traditions.²⁷ It is not surprising that the forces of Roman orthodoxy condemned traditionalism twice in the nineteenth century and rejected the twentieth-century politicized version advocated by *Action Française*.

Victor Hugo apotheosized Lamennais: "Il éclaire comme Pascal, il brûle comme Rousseau, il foudroie comme Bossuet." Hailed as the new Bossuet, Lamennais wanted to emulate Malebranche, an ambition he never achieved.²⁸ But he did attempt in Volumes II, III, and IV of the *Essai* (Paris, 1820–23) and in the *Défense de l'Essai* (Paris, 1821) to develop a new Christian philosophy based on a theory of certitude whose first principle was "what all men believe to be true is true," thus making the authority of general reason, founded on divine authority, the arbiter of truth. Lamennais accepted uncritically much of eighteenth-century sensationalist philosophy and most of Bonald's psychology, especially the traditionalist idea that knowledge of essential truths is innate in society. This anti-Cartesian psychology made revelation a general law of the human mind. It also explicitly denied certain eighteenth-century ideas still powerful in the 1820's. To oppose antiquity to Christianity was no longer possible because the valuable part of ancient thought contained the truths of primitive revelation; reason could not be opposed to Christianity because true reason is general reason, characterized by unity and perpetuity, and by universality, a distinguishing characteristic of Christianity.²⁹

The double danger of these ideas to Catholic orthodoxy was similar to the threat of Bonald's thought. The autonomy of the individual conscience in religious belief was abandoned, although Lamennais's career was to show that this was perhaps more theoretical than practical. Christianity was naturalized by the mingling of supernatural truths with those derived from general reason. There is some ground for arguing that Lamennais's religious evolution put him in a position not entirely different from that of the believer in natural religion. When

²⁷ Foucher, *Philosophie catholique*, 25–26.

²⁸ On Hugo and Lamennais, see Christian Maréchal, *Lamennais et Victor Hugo* (Paris, 1906), and "Victor Hugo mennaisien," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, XIII (1906), 499–500. Lamennais's philosophy presents the same problem to critics as that of Thomas Aquinas: "La philosophie de Lamennais reste en somme celle d'un théologien, de caractère assez technique et parfois artificiel" was the harsh judgment of Bréhier (*Histoire de la philosophie*, II, 597). But Paul Janet, *La philosophie de Lamennais* (Paris, 1890), 101, praised Lamennais's *Esquisse d'une philosophie* as "la seule synthèse générale tentée au dix-neuvième siècle par un philosophe français," although he admitted it was not a work of first rank.

²⁹ See Foucher, *Philosophie catholique*, Chap. II. An exposure of the logical weakness of Lamennais's argument is stated convincingly by Brousse, *Lamennais et le christianisme universel*, 35–36: "S'il établit, comme le fait Lamennais, que la raison individuelle doit se conformer à la raison humaine, il établit cela par la raison individuelle. . . . C'est une contradiction interne très grave, capable de faire écrouler toute l'architecture des raisonnements mennaisiens." See Norbert Hötzl, *Die Uroffenbarung im französischen Traditionalismus* (Munich, 1962), who deals with the roles of Maistre, Bonald, Lamennais, Louis Bautain, Augustin Bonnetty, Henri Maret, and Marie-Ange Chastel in this quarrel and carries the issue to Vatican I.

Gregory XVI's *Singulari nos* (1834) referred to a "fallacious system of philosophy," it meant the Mennaisian philosophy of *sensus communis*.³⁰

The encyclicals of Pope Gregory emasculated the embryonic movement for political liberty making headway among the clergy. But the vague formulas of *Singulari nos* hardly affected the diffusion of Mennaisian philosophy and theology. In 1830-1831 Lamennais gave a course to his epigoni in Paris and to the Order of St. Peter at La Chesnaie, in which he made a more rational effort than he had made before to solve the traditional problems of philosophy. Although he used F. Gottlob Born's dubious late eighteenth-century Latin translation of the critical works of Kant, as did Victor Cousin at the beginning of his teaching, Lamennais made the expected criticism of Kantian psychology, founded on abstract reason, but praised Kant's rejection of the exclusively analytical character of the Abbé de Condillac and David Hume.³¹ A modern student of Lamennais, Christian Maréchal, has viewed these lectures as a stage in Lamennais's evolution marking the transition between the *Essai sur l'indifférence* and the *Esquisse*. But Foucher has replied that the *Esquisse* was not the end of an evolution but a revolution in Lamennais's thought because, among other things, the *Esquisse* recognized that individual reason, having a capacity for truth, provides a basis for philosophy. But this change of opinion seemed to have had little effect on the survival of the authoritarian and somewhat Tertullian conception of Christianity that prevailed among Lamennais's followers. Descartes remained their bête noire.

Jean-René Derré has recently given a penetrating analysis of the pervading influence of Lamennais in the intellectual life of France and the intellectual relationship of the Mennaisians to Catholicism outside France.³² In spite of their

³⁰ For an attempt to cast doubt on the contention that Lamennais's philosophy was not condemned by *Singulari nos*, see Louis Le Guillou, *L'évolution de la pensée religieuse de Félicité Lamennais* (Paris, 1966), 196-98, which also has appended some unpublished material, the most important being the "Correspondance inédite Lamennais-Ventura," 440-73. The interpretation of Mennaisianism as traditionalism was challenged by Maréchal in his works on Lamennais, who was, he claimed, a Christian rationalist like Aquinas and Descartes, who derived their philosophy from their faith. For a substantial refutation of this idea, see Foucher, *Philosophie catholique*, 42-47. Foucher saw continuity between the *Essai* and the *Esquisse*, whereas Maréchal thinks the *Esquisse* was a denial of the *Essai* because of the unrestricted development of Lamennais's rationalism once he left the Church. (See Christian Maréchal, *Lamennais: La dispute de l' 'Essai sur l'indifférence' d'après les documents nouveaux et inédits* [Paris, 1925].)

³¹ These lectures were not formally published until Maréchal's edition as *Lamennais: Essai d'un système de philosophie catholique (1830-1831)* (Paris, 1906). In the opinion of the Catholic scientist and philosopher, A.-M. Ampère, the exposés of Kantian thought in early nineteenth-century France were inferior. He was one of the few who knew Kant's thought well, at least well enough to criticize Maine de Biran's misrepresentation of Kant. On Kant in France, see Louis Foucher, "Sur la première traduction française de la 'Critique de la raison pure,'" *Revue philosophique de la France et de l'étranger*, CXLI (1951), 85-91; Pierre Deguise, *Benjamin Constant méconnu: Le livre "De la religion"* (Paris, 1966), esp. 82-86; and François Picavet, *La philosophie de Kant en France, de 1773 à 1814, introduction à une nouvelle traduction de la "Critique de la raison pratique"* (Paris, 1888).

³² Jean-René Derré, *Lamennais: Ses amis et le mouvement des idées à l'époque romantique, 1824-1834* (Paris, 1962). For the recent deluge of studies on Lamennais, see the bibliographies of Derré (*ibid.*) and Le Guillou (*Évolution de la pensée religieuse de Félicité Lamennais*). Considerable attention is being given to the impact of Lamennais outside France; see, e.g., Derré, *Lamennais*; Angiolo Gambaro, *Sulle orme del Lamennais in Italia* (Turin, 1958-); Kurt Jürgensen, *Lamennais und die Gestaltung des belgischen Staates; der liberale Katholizismus in der Verfassungsbewegung des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Wiesbaden, 1963); and W. H. Roe, *Lamennais and England* (Oxford, Eng., 1967).

generally ignoring ethics and scriptural research, the Mennaisians and their associates attempted to create a new humanism based on the explosive combination of dogma and intelligence. A vast quarry of evidence, partially sifted by Derré, exists in the leading Catholic periodicals of the era: *Le Mémorial*, *Le Catholique*, *La Revue européenne*, and especially the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*.

Occupying a rather important niche in early nineteenth-century Catholic erudition was the Danish-born Ferdinand d'Eckstein (1790–1861). An active contributor to papers like the ultraroyalist *Drapeau blanc* and an active minor figure in the power structure of the Restoration, he began as commissioner of police in Marseilles in 1815, became inspector in the ministry in 1818, and then moved to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs until 1830. The aim of the heavily Germanic periodical *Le Catholique* (1826–29) of “Baron sanscrit” was “to give science an active role in life” through his treatment of “the universality of knowledge in its relationship with the unity of doctrine.” Eckstein was a relentless critic of Benjamin Constant, bête noire of the Right, defender of freedom of the press and of liberty, and theoretician of constitutional government in France from the Restoration to 1848, especially in his *De la religion, considérée dans sa source, ses formes et ses développements*, whose appearance in five volumes between 1824 and 1831 made him the great theoretician of religious feeling. Eckstein attacked this little-read work after an analysis of Constant’s sources that showed, the critic unjustly concluded, Constant’s work to be a pastiche of the research of German philologists and students of antiquity, especially Moritz Heyne, Karl Friedrich Hermann, and Johann Heinrich Voss, along with badly assimilated recollections of the author on the great philologist Georg Friedrich Creuzer and journalist, scholar, and mystic Joseph von Görres. This was the French version of the German controversy between Friedrich Schleiermacher and the Catholic faculty at Tübingen. Eckstein attacked the startling explanation in the *Globe* in 1825 of “Comment les dogmes finissent” by Théodore Jouffroy, who taught philosophy at the Collège Bourbon and the Normale between 1817 and 1822, the Normale and the Sorbonne after 1828, and then the Collège de France, and became a deputy in 1831. Eckstein even chided Lamennais for his lack of philological knowledge, vital for progress in history, theology, philosophy, and so forth. Derré has argued that the Baron was the direct precursor of Ernest Renan in philology and equally important for showing the importance of *orientalisme* to Catholic thinkers.³³ Rejecting the Mennaisian attack on reason, Eckstein emphasized, with

³³ See Nicolas Burtin, *Un sémur d'idées au temps de la restauration: Le baron d'Eckstein* (Paris, 1931), especially for an analysis of the ideas of *Le Catholique*. Raymond Schwab, *La renaissance orientale* (Paris, 1950), 277–94, established Eckstein’s role in the revival of Eastern studies. On Constant and religion, see Deguise, *Benjamin Constant méconnu*; and Paul Bastid, *Benjamin Constant et sa doctrine* (2 vols., Paris, 1966), II, 588–699. Bastid is myopic in seeing little in this polemic for the history of ideas and in concluding that Constant’s religious works added nothing to his glory. For a summary of the debate over Constant’s religion and the conclusion that his “christianisme reste sans révélation historique et sans Christ,” see Deguise, *Benjamin Constant méconnu*, 226–31, which, along with Chap. II of Pt. 4, also has a defense of Constant’s “independence with regard to the German historians.”

considerable originality, the importance of evangelizing knowledge in a deeply secular society, an idea that was taken up in *Avenir* and finally triumphed in the Catholic action movement under Pius XI.

As Derré discovered, *Le Mémorial catholique*, founded in 1824 by Louis-Antoine de Salinis, later bishop of Amiens and archbishop of Auch, and Philippe Gerbet, the best theologian of the group and later bishop of Perpignan, excelled in the clash of ideas characteristic of the epoch in its quest for a modern apologetic and a more human theology, both resulting from involvement in the intellectual currents of the day in religion, philosophy, and literature. "Pour agir sur le siècle, il faut l'avoir compris." Gerbet could find a word of praise for Cousin's opposition to materialism. Jean-Philibert Damiron's simplistic classification of the Mennaisians as the partisans of tradition against the eclectic partisans of observation was demolished in *Le Mémorial*.³⁴ In 1829 a *Revue catholique* was added to the periodical (*Mémorial et revue catholique*) to take up the work done by Eckstein's journal, which had ceased publication. The new review aimed at coverage of discoveries relevant to religion in all areas of human knowledge. Editorial opinion was that since the struggle against Cartesianism and Gallicanism had been won, with Mennaisian philosophical and theological doctrines firmly established, the historically oriented tradition of Eckstein could be profitably pursued.

The same dynamic Catholicism was evident in *Le Correspondant*, founded in 1829, edited by the first group called liberal Catholics (Edmond de Cazalès, Franz de Champagny, J.-B. Claude de Riambourg, Théodore Foisset, Louis de Carné, and, for a while, Montalembert). Attacking Jouffroy's idea that dogma was an exhausted religious form, they insisted on the capability of dogma to inspire new solutions in philosophy and politics, a position to some degree anticipatory of Édouard Le Roy's later pragmatic justification of dogma in the Third Republic.³⁵ The ideas of this group show that it is false to picture all Catholic intellectuals of the period flogging the supposedly dead horses of Voltairism and eighteenth-century materialism,³⁶ dangers the editors believed to be overcome by the new *spiritualisme* of Maine de Biran, by eclecticism, and by Edgar Quinet's popular

³⁴ Jean-Philibert Damiron, *Essai sur l'histoire de la philosophie en France au dix-neuvième siècle* (Paris, 1828).

³⁵ Édouard Le Roy, *Qu'est-ce un dogme?* (Paris, 1905). A new version of this quarrel can be seen in Gabriel Séailles's "Pourquoi les dogmes ne renaissent pas," in *Les affirmations de la conscience moderne* (Paris, 1903); and the Catholic answer by Gaston Sortais, *Pourquoi les dogmes ne meurent pas* (Paris, 1905).

³⁶ See, e.g., Charlton, *Secular Religions*, 9, who quotes Foucher in support of this claim. In any case, it is easy to show that Voltairism and the old materialism were by no means defunct, as Foucher himself admits (*Philosophie catholique*, 11-15). From 1817 to 1824 it is estimated that 1,598,000 volumes of Voltaire's works and 492,000 of Rousseau's were published. The works of C.-F. Volney, Helvétius, Denis Diderot, Condorcet, Baron d'Holbach, and other intellectual enemies of the clergy went through numerous editions. (Bertier de Sauvigny, *Restauration*, 343-44.) In 1820 Ballanche described the university as Voltairian and saw in Voltaire, the expression of the French *esprit*, the dissolution of religion, family, and morality. (Bibliothèque Nationale, *Nouvelle acquisition française* [hereafter cited as BN, NAF] 14090, fol. 123; see also Émile Saisset, "Renaissance du Voltairianisme à propos d'une brochure de M. Michelet [*du Prêtre, de la femme et de la Famille*]" *Revue des deux mondes*, New Ser., V [Feb. 1, 1845], 377-408.)

translation in 1827–1828 of Johann Gottfried von Herder's *Ideen zur Philosophie der Geschichte der Menschheit* (4 vols., Riga and Leipzig, 1784–91).³⁷

The *Revue européenne* (1831–34), a continuation of *Le Correspondant*, which had been discontinued in February 1831, was, Derré has shown, the organ of Mennaisianism. Many on the *Revue*, like Carné and Cazalès, had worked for *Le Correspondant* before it disappeared. They still acted on the idea that Christendom, including France, was headed for a new destiny. The *Revue* carried Hector Berlioz on Italian music. Foisset kept up the attack on eclecticism. Cousin was “the wandering Jew of philosophy,” then “drifting distraught between Alexandria and Munich.” Frédéric Ozanam, enamored of Clio in her guise of vestal virgin, wrote endlessly on the religious doctrines of India. An article by Cazalès in 1832 comparing the regime of the July Monarchy with that of Caesar earned him six months in prison, a fine of five hundred francs, and seizure of the *Revue*. *Singulari nos* contributed to the end of this promising intellectual venture in 1834.

A powerful traditionalist current ran through much of the nineteenth century in the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, begun in 1830 under Augustin Bonnetty (1798–1879), the uncharismatic but indefatigable successor to Lamennais and Eckstein.³⁸ The periodical was frankly apologetic in its announced program of exploring all human sciences, especially history, to gather proof that “Christianity is the universal religion of all time.” In trying to conciliate the “science of God and that of the century,” he attempted to fulfill Maistre’s famous hope, which would be attempted in a different way and with greater sophistication by Louis Bautain and by Alphonse Gratry.

One of the persistent teachings of the *Annales* was that “the study of languages is one of the most fertile means of appreciating sacred scripture and Christianity.” Articles abound on the Hebrew language, new methods of teaching it, with special reference to seminaries, and the historical development of Hebrew studies in France. Étienne Quatremère, Orientalist at the École des langues orientales vivantes and later at the Collège de France, wrote articles in the 1840’s on the world of Biblical times. In 1849 Abbé J.-P. Migne’s *Catholicum lexicon hébraïque et chaldéen* received an extensive, favorable notice, defending Migne against the criticism of Abbé J.-J.-L. Bargès, who taught Hebrew at the Sorbonne as professor of Near Eastern languages in the faculty of theology. Jean François Champollion’s work was praised as an example of the value of Egyptology for Christian-

³⁷ Henri Tronchon, *La fortune intellectuelle de Herder en France* (Paris, 1920), deals with Herder’s impact on French intellectuals between 1768 and Quinet’s translation.

³⁸ Edward Alfred Pulker, “Augustin Bonnetty Considered as a Reconciler of Science and Religion,” master’s thesis, University of Ottawa, 1966; the work deals with Genesis and geology. Excellent brief treatments of Bonnetty are given by both Derré, *Lamennais*, and Foucher, *Philosophie catholique*; see also R. Jacquin, “Un vulgarisateur de cardinal Mai: Bonnetty,” *Revue des sciences religieuses*, XXIX (1955), 137–45. By 1836 the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne* had a heavily ecclesiastical annual subscription circulation of 631. Subscribers were most numerous in: Seine, 73; Hérault, 32; Meurthe, 25; Basses-Alpes, 21; Sarthe, 16; Nord, 15; Var, 15; and Calvados, 13.

ity.³⁹ This approach to Near Eastern studies, somewhat reminiscent of that of W. F. Albright in our day, contrasted sharply with Frayssinous's earlier refusal to admit the disturbing science of Egyptology into the university curriculum.

In his philosophy of history Bonnetty came close to Pierre Ballanche and his faith in palingenesis (gradual change), which had been inspired by Charles Bonnet's *La Palingénésie philosophique* (2 vols., Geneva, 1769-70) and influenced by the "corsi e ricorsi" of Giovanni Battista Vico's *Scienza nuova* (3d ed., Naples, 1744), which Ballanche used to Christianize history. Ballanche's theodicy of history, satisfying the ambivalent attitude of a bourgeois Catholic toward progress, gave a "law of restoration" by which man and society progressed. This gradual change, taking account of the "radical oneness" of life, avoided the horrors of revolutionary change. Although he accepted much of Bonald's theory of the divine origin of language, the basis upon which Bonald argued against man's ability to change the structure of society, Ballanche rejected Bonald's eternal equation of word and idea, thus allowing for the development of thought and "an evolutionary change in social institutions."⁴⁰

A leitmotiv of the *Annales* was the ancient quarrel between the traditionalists and the rationalists. The main issues of this argument had changed little since the days of Bonald's antirationalist polemic. The *Annales* were anti-Aristotelian. Bonnetty dealt with the secular philosophies of Kant and G. W. F. Hegel and the French thinkers he thought tainted by these philosophies—Cousin, Jouffroy, Émile Saisset, Étienne Vacherot, and Henri Maret—only to lament their rationalism and consequent pantheism.⁴¹ The traditionalist predilection for history rather than philosophy was evident not only in articles on the ancient Near East and Asia,⁴² but also in the extensive and often contentious treatment of contemporary historians. As well as being concerned with the sources of Herodotus and with Voltaire's historical works, the *Annales* gave Jules Michelet's history of France a critical examination with regard to its treatment of religion. The lectures of Charles Lenormant at the Sorbonne from 1835 to 1848, when the clerical sympathy of his lectures led to student revolts—it was just after the suspension of Quinet's course—and to his resignation, provided much historical and archaeological material that could be tailored to establish the historical basis of Christian-

³⁹ See, e.g., Jean François Champollion, "Sur le système d'écriture des Égyptiens," *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, 3d Ser., I (1840), 294-303.

⁴⁰ Michael Reardon, "Pierre Ballanche as a French Traditionalist," *Catholic Historical Review*, LIII (No. 4, 1968), 573-99.

⁴¹ See, e.g., Hyacinthe de Valroger, "Hegel—Exposition de son système," *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, 3d Ser., VII (1843), 358-72, and "M. Cousin," *ibid.*, 85-106.

⁴² Bonnetty advertised himself on the title page of the *Annales* as a member of the *Société asiatique de Paris*. The *Annales* carried many tendentious articles on Asia, especially China; see, e.g., Hyacinthe de Valroger, "Examen des doctrines contenu dans le Bhagavata-Purana et le Vishnu-Purana," *ibid.*, V (1842), 187-211. Bonnetty published an annotated edition of a work by an eighteenth-century Jesuit in China, H.-J. de Prémare, *Vestiges des principaux dogmes chrétiens, tirés des anciens livres chinois, avec reproduction des textes chinois* (Paris, 1878). Earlier the *Annales* had published the *Lettres inédites du P. Prémare sur le monothéisme des Chinois, publiées avec la plupart des textes originaux* (Paris, 1861).

ity. A jaundiced eye was cast on the development of the philosophy of history by Friedrich von Schlegel, Herder, Hegel, and Michelet. Abbé Jean-Claude Gainet, a regular contributor to the *Annales*, welcomed François Guizot's *L'Église et la société chrétienne*, a work giving cause for all the *gens de bien* to rejoice.⁴³

The natural sciences were also exploited for apologetic ammunition. Being antievolutionist, Bonnetty chose Georges Cuvier rather than Geoffroy Saint-Hilaire or J. B. de Lamarck as his hero. In the first volume of the *Annales* Cuvier was proudly displayed as justifying Biblical chronology through his examination of the historical monuments of all peoples. The sacred geology that Bonnetty based on Cuvier conveniently dated the flood close to the Biblical date. In 1865 five antievolutionist articles by Giovanni Guiseppe Bianconi, advertised as a former professor at Bologna, concluded that man was completely separate from the rest of creation by reason of the intelligence and morality given to him by the author of nature. Abbé Gainet continued this line in 1869 by arguing for the "unité de l'espèce humaine, réfutation du système de Darwin." Gainet thought that Charles Darwin had only rehashed Lamarck's system, adding to it a bigger scientific apparatus. But he could refute Darwin only by quoting authorities. Like most people, Gainet thought that the real question was whether man could descend from the ape. Although the positions of the *Annales* on scientific issues may now seem naïve, it should be remembered that the writers in the periodical buttressed their cosmogony with the theories of contemporary scientists, just as the English antievolutionists did with the erroneous theories of Darwin's "odious spectre," Lord Kelvin, on the age of the earth. The *Annales* conformed to a wider current of negative reaction by the nineteenth-century French intelligentsia to Darwinism.

In 1836 Bonnetty took over the philosophically traditionalist review *L'Université catholique*, founded by Gerbet, Salinis, and Abbé B.-D. de Scorbiac of Juilly with the aim of reforming the education of the clergy and of developing an ecclesiastical science, an aim similar to that of the *Maison des hautes études* Gerbet had founded at Thieux in 1834 to carry on a more orthodox version of Lamennais's efforts at La Chesnaie and Juilly. They hoped to outflank the government's prohibition of a French Catholic university, perhaps patterned after Louvain, by using the press for public courses and lectures. Five faculties were organized: philosophy and religious sciences; arts and letters; physiological sciences; physics and mathematics; and historical sciences. Guizot was sympathetic to the venture. Ignaz von Döllinger sent his congratulations. In 1838 interest in Germany was revived with the group's publication of a *Revue germanique religieuse*, in which those familiar with German intellectual life, like Léon Boré, could attack such dragons as "German pantheism" and denounce Hegel and Friedrich von Schelling. By 1845 *L'Université catholique* had on its staff such luminaries as the Boré

⁴³ J.-C. Gainet, "Quelques observations sur le dernier ouvrage de M. Guizot; l'Église et la société moderne," *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, 5th Ser., IV (1861), 420–28. Gainet also wrote *Études critiques sur les travaux historiques de M. Guizot* (Paris, 1851).

brothers, Gerbet, the Comte de Montalembert, Ozanam, then professor of foreign literature at the Sorbonne, and the mathematician Melchior Hermite. The periodical survived until 1855, when it was absorbed by the *Annales*.⁴⁴

It is important to keep in mind the political, institutional, and ideological framework within which Catholic intellectual life developed and with which it was frequently in conflict long before the Third Republic. The direction and content of efforts like *L'Université catholique* were obviously conditioned by governmental policies. The July Monarchy has been called, among other things, a monarchy of professors, for, unlike the Restoration governments, it gave cabinet posts to the *universitaires*. As René Rémond has recently pointed out, the trinity of those who had their courses suspended under the Restoration—Guizot, François Villain, and Cousin, although the last regained his position in 1828 under the ministry of the Vicomte de Martignac—had their revenge in 1830. Professors were made peers. The *Institut* became an Orleanist salon for half a century. Guizot, Adolphe Thiers, and lesser luminaries entered the ranks of the Immortals. Supported by the twin pillars of the press and education, Orleanism was the liberalism of the time. Basing its epistemology upon individual reason, it clashed with the absolutist Catholic theories of the Restoration. There was no Armageddon, however, for Orleanist rationalism was not a materialism but a *rationalisme spiritua-liste*, and within Catholicism this was the period of the blossoming of “a hundred flowers,” a feature of Catholic intellectual life that would be drastically changed by the Thomist renaissance.⁴⁵ But the struggle between the university and Catholics was more serious than it appears in Rémond’s book.

When the great battle over the monopoly of the university began in 1842, that institution soon found itself in a dangerously weak position because of the growing conservatism of the July Monarchy, a hostile public opinion toward alleged abuses resulting from the university’s dictatorship over French youth, and the denunciations of the Saint-Simonians concerning the university’s neglect of the sciences, foreign languages, and technology.⁴⁶ The suppression of the university’s monopoly in 1850, ironically under a republic, was a triumph for Montalembert, his political party, and the bishops.⁴⁷ During its period of captivity, especially in the 1860’s, some *universitaires*, along with many other French intellectuals, became increasingly attracted to the idea of replacing the dogmas of Catholicism, which many saw as the ideological source of their woes, by the principles of modern science. Many came to agree with Émile Littré that only his variety of Positivism

⁴⁴ It was called *L'Université catholique* from 1836 to 1845, then *Recueil religieuse*, 1846–1855. The publication achieved the surprising subscription circulation of sixteen hundred, including many in Germany and fifty in England. (Derré, *Lamennais*, 715–17.) For a general consideration of the treatment of Germany in the periodical literature of the time, see André Monchoux, *L'Allemagne devant les lettres françaises de 1814 à 1835* (2d ed., Paris, 1965), esp. Chaps. xi–xiii.

⁴⁵ René Rémond, *La droite en France de la première restauration à la V^e république* (Paris, 1963), 87–92.

⁴⁶ Paul Gerbod, *La condition universitaire en France au xix^e siècle* (Paris, 1963), 21.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 141–282, 548, 594–96. The campaign of the bishops is revealed in their letters in the Archives Nationales [hereafter cited as AN], F¹⁹ 3969–70.

could provide "a reconstruction of beliefs and morals."⁴⁸ Science was, it seemed, gaining an easy victory over theology through the work of Darwin, T. H. Huxley, and Karl Vogt and through the efforts of Littré, Hippolyte Taine, and Renan, which were based, according to popular propaganda, on scientific principles. This resurrection of anti-Christian secularism led Félix Dupanloup, bishop of Orléans, who had been favorable to a reconciliation between university and Church in 1850, to sound the alarm in 1863 with his *Avertissement à la jeunesse et aux pères des familles*. But the full political significance of the young republican democrats' hailing of the debacle of the "metaphysical" Second Empire and the advent of the "Positivist" Third Republic would become evident only in the 1880's, when scientific secularism became the prime republican virtue.⁴⁹ A university purged of clerical sympathizers became the ally of the Third Republic. The defeats that went back to the Falloux and Parieu Laws of 1850, the fruit of the alliance between the Church and the Orleanists against radicalism, were at last revenged. The triumph of those ideologically opposed to Catholicism and especially to Catholic influence in education was the most severe setback for all varieties of Catholics since the Revolution.

The great promise of the burgeoning intellectual life of French Catholicism in the second quarter of the nineteenth century is best seen, perhaps, in the "philosopher of Strasbourg," Abbé Louis Bautain, who with Damiron and Jouffroy comprised the famous student trio of Cousin at the Normale.⁵⁰ In 1818, on a trip to Germany with Cousin, he imbibed some of the heady philosophical potions of Hegel, J. G. Fichte, and F. H. Jacobi. Like Jouffroy, he lost his faith while becoming a philosopher. But during an illness a somewhat Pascalian vision combined with a mystical influence like that of Franz von Baader of Mlle. Humann (sister of J.-G. Humann, the Finance Minister in the July Monarchy), he jettisoned rationalism for his own brand of *fidéisme*. Partially following Kant, he declared it impossible to base metaphysics on pure reason. His small work *De l'enseignement de la philosophie en France au XIX^e siècle* (Strasbourg, 1833) attacked eclecticism, the cluster of ideas being propagated by Cousin as a quasi-official philosophy, and the supposedly moribund mélange of Scholasticism and Cartesianism that was part of the intellectual fare of the seminaries. Bautain's own doctrine was, he claimed, only "the Christian religion scientifically explained." To fulfill his aim, he created a school at Strasbourg that was famous for its ecumenicism and its conversions.

⁴⁸ Emile Littré, *Conservation, révolution et positivisme* (Paris, 1852), vii, xxv, cited in Louis Capéran, *Histoire contemporaine de la laïcité française* (2 vols., Paris, 1957), I, xviii.

⁴⁹ See Harry W. Paul, "The Debate over the Bankruptcy of Science in 1895," *French Historical Studies*, V (No. 3, 1968), 299-327.

⁵⁰ Walter Marshall Horton's *The Philosophy of the Abbé Bautain* (New York, 1926) is still a good study of Bautain. Paul Poupard's recent works, using much new unpublished material, give a more complete picture of Bautain; see esp. his *Essai de philosophie chrétienne au XIX^e siècle, l'abbé Louis Bautain* (Paris, 1961), *L'abbé Louis Bautain: Introduction et choix de textes* (Paris, n.d.), and *Le journal romain de l'abbé Bautain* (Rome, 1964).

During the Second Empire Bautain was on the faculty of theology at the Sorbonne, where he continued his attempt to construct a new epistemology. Bautain really modified the Platonic current running through Christian thought by his infusion of safe elements of Kant, German Romanticism, and French traditionalism. Thus he hoped to avoid the pitfall represented by the Kantian demonstration of the failure of reason in metaphysics and also to avoid falling into the heresy of Malebranche's "vision en Dieu," of which he was accused by the followers of Lamennais. In Bautain's epistemology, knowledge is born of belief; essentially, his position seems to be *philosophia ancilla theologiae*. Although his ideas did not have a wide impact immediately, they did influence two new currents in Catholic philosophy: the ontological movement and the movement leading through Gratry into Neo-Thomism. Bautain was also linked to a number of the chief currents of nineteenth-century philosophy. His vitalist explanation of knowledge has some similarity to the new metaphysics of Bergson, to whom he is related also by his anti-intellectualistic, intuitistic, and voluntaristic tendencies. W. M. Horton argued as early as 1926 that Bautain was a forerunner of the Right-wing pragmatism of thinkers like William James as well as of French Catholic Modernism, to which he was linked through his foreshadowing of some of the ideas of the school of the philosophy of action.⁵¹ The role he gives to belief and liberty in epistemology connects him with Jules Lequier and Renouvier. Finally, his views on the origins of ideas, as seen in his *Psychologie expérimentale* (Strasbourg, 1839), are not remote from Edmund Husserl's phenomenology.

Émile Bréhier's classification of Bautain as a "partisan of Bonald" is highly misleading. Their common hatred of rationalism produced a "strategic alliance," but for Bautain tradition "does not override the intelligence of the individual; it helps to develop it."⁵² This was the kind of traditionalism developed at Louvain, which, after its restoration in 1815, shared in the reaction against eighteenth-century rationalism by returning to the classical spirit of the Church fathers, especially Augustine, and of the great Scholastics. This movement was labeled "ontological"⁵³ from Vincenzo Gioberti's *Considérations sur les doctrines religieuses de V. Cousin* (Reims, 1844), although Giacinto Cardinal Gerdil's *La défense du sentiment du père Malebranche sur la nature et l'origine des idées contre l'examen de M. Locke* (Turin, 1748) was an important source of the Christian-Platonic orientation of the conversion of Louvain to ontology about 1840. Gérard Casimir Ubaghs, the leader of the movement, taught the ontological doctrine at

⁵¹ Horton, *Philosophy of the Abbé Bautain*, ix.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 285.

⁵³ Edgar Hocedez, *Histoire de la théologie au XIX^e siècle* (3 vols., Brussels, 1948-52), III, defines ontology as "la doctrine expliquant le caractère spirituel de nos intellections, en donnant pour objet unique à notre raison l'Être divin immédiatement connu par intuition, dans laquelle la réflexion découvre toutes les autres vérités." Gioberti first used the word in this sense to emphasize the difference between his philosophy and René Descartes's "psychologisme." Although Gioberti found his inspiration in Aristotle, the movement was Platonic-Aristotelian. Horton (*Philosophy of the Abbé Bautain*, 287) thinks that the popularity of "ontologisme" in France should not be traced to the influence of Rosmini and Gioberti but to Bautain instead. But see note 61, below.

Louvain from 1845 to 1846,⁵⁴ until Rome intervened to modify his books and his teachings along Thomistic lines, although ontology per se was not condemned.

In an age when popular magazines carry articles on the theological problems raised by space travel, when theologians are calling for the establishment of "theological think-tanks,"⁵⁵ and when the paperback shelves are overloaded with the works of Karl Barth, Paul Tillich, Reinhold Niebuhr, Karl Adam, Karl Rahner, Romano Guardini, and others, it is not inappropriate to speak of a theological revival. It is amusing to reflect that Susanne K. Langer wrote an epitaph in 1942: "Theology, which could not possibly submit to scientific methods, has simply been crowded out of the intellectual arena and gone into retreat in the cloistered libraries of its seminaries."⁵⁶ *Souvent science varie; bien fol est qui s'y fie!*

"The roots of modern theological development go back to the beginning of the nineteenth century."⁵⁷ In the France of the July Monarchy and of the Second Empire there was a significant philosophical-theological movement that merged into the Thomist renaissance and has been overshadowed by it. Yet many of the concerns and approaches of nineteenth-century movements like the ontological wave are similar to contemporary theological developments. Tillich's "interest in ontology and a view of reality controlled by the concept of the universality of being in God" provides one of a host of possible examples.⁵⁸ The great influence of Schelling on Tillich is also not without its parallel to much of nineteenth-century French thought. Equally striking is the attempt to create a "synthesis between the functions of philosophy and theology."⁵⁹ If the contemporary theological movement is only half as significant as it seems, it is certainly difficult to justify relegating to limbo most of the philosophical-theological thought of figures like Bautain and Gratry. It is more difficult to justify overlooking their role in the dialectic of their times. Their writings were not *Epistolae obscurorum virorum*.

In France the ontological movement counteracted the deplorable traditionalistic equation of Catholicism and authority that made Christianity seem opposed to thought. Abbé Henri Maret (1805-1881), whose *Théodicée chrétienne* (Paris, 1844), the result of his first course in the faculty of theology at the Sorbonne in 1842-1843, took an antirational and protraditionalist approach, was converted to ontology about 1854. Horton has argued that the nineteenth-century scholar-philosopher Marin Ferraz was wrong in saying that Maret executed a *volte-face* in becoming an ontologist. Ferraz thought Maret to be a Bonaldian traditionalist, whereas he was a Bautainian traditionalist who simply shifted his interest between 1844 and 1856, when his *Philosophie et Religion* appeared, from the negative

⁵⁴ Gérard Casimir Ubaghs, *Essai d'idéologie ontologique ou considérations philosophiques sur la nature de nos idées, et sur l'ontologisme en général* (Louvain, 1860).

⁵⁵ *Time*, XCIII (Jan. 24, 1969), 64-65.

⁵⁶ Susanne K. Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key* (New York, 1948), 12.

⁵⁷ Charles Henkey, "Foreword," *Theologians of Our Time* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1964), vi.

⁵⁸ Alexander J. McKelway, *The Systematic Theology of Paul Tillich* (New York, 1964), 33.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.* McKelway is chiefly interested in showing that both Tillich and the Thomists oppose the nominalist critique.

critique of reason to the positive emphasis of Bautain on the idea of being, which gives man the faculty of knowing God directly and intuitively. Thus Maret “never moved outside the circle of ideas marked out by Bautain.”⁶⁰ In spite of his exaggerations concerning the intellectual servitude of Maret to Bautain, Horton was justified in rejecting Ferraz’s claim that Maret had become a Christian rationalist.⁶¹ By 1856 it was clear that he had moved fully into the ontological camp, then represented by some of the best minds of the French Catholic world. That conservative accusations against Maret had some influence in Rome is probably indicated by Pius IX’s rejection of his nomination to the bishopric of Vannes in 1860; that he was fairly safe is evident from the consolation prize of being made bishop of Sura *in partibus*.

Abbé Louis Branchereau (1819–1913)—“la plus forte tête du clergé français,” said Cousin—after giving an excellent statement of Kant’s philosophy in his *Praelectiones philosophicae* (Clermont-Ferrand, 1849), resurrected Malebranche’s “vision en Dieu” as the only effective answer to Kant. This philosophical manual rivaled the quasi-official manual of eclecticism by Saisset and Jules Simon and was probably superior to it in metaphysics. But a definitive statement of the ontological position came from Flavien Hugonin, on the faculty of theology at the Sorbonne from 1861 to 1867, when he became bishop of Bayeux. His *Ontologie, ou étude des lois de la pensée* (2 vols., Paris, 1856–57), showed ontology in its full scope as renewing both Christian philosophy and metaphysics. Primarily a theologian himself, Hugonin viewed Aquinas as another theologian, who, having no personal system of philosophy, had been led into the same error as Aristotle regarding the sensational source of knowledge. Asserting the principle of being (“en tant qu’être”) as the first knowledge of the human mind, Hugonin elevated ontology to the rank of the “primary philosophical science,” which could establish the immutable and eternal character of truth. Hugonin opposed the theories of Antonio Rosmini-Serbati (1797–1855), whose leitmotiv of “ideal being,” based partly on Platonic and Augustinian ideas, was probably too much influenced by Kant for Hugonin’s comfort. Rosmini was controversial as late as 1887, when Leo XIII condemned forty Rosminian propositions.⁶² These ideas clashed with the neo-Thomist wave beginning to swell in the mid-nineteenth century. Accusations of pantheism were also hurled at the ontologists. After Rome’s condemnation of

⁶⁰ Horton, *Philosophy of the Abbé Bautain*, 286–87. Horton is not accurate in describing Ferraz’s analysis of Maret. Ferraz called Maret a “traditionaliste mitigé dans son *Essai sur le panthéisme*” (Paris, 1840) and said that even then he seemed inspired by Bautain. (Marin Ferraz, *Histoire de la philosophie en France au XIX^e siècle: Traditionalisme et ultramontanisme* [Paris, 1880], 361–71.)

⁶¹ “. . . il s’y rallie complètement [i.e., to rationalism] dans son livre intitulé *Philosophie et religion*” (Paris, 1856). Ferraz thought that Maret’s intellectual evolution might have been influenced by the attacks of the Jesuit Marie-Ange Chastel on traditionalism and by its condemnation by the Council of Amiens. (See Ferraz, *Histoire de la philosophie*, 370–71.)

⁶² A translation of Antonio Rosmini-Serbati’s *Nuovo saggio sull’origine delle idee* (4 vols., Rome, 1830) was begun in 1844 with the encouragement of Henri Lacordaire and Montalembert, but did not get beyond the first volume. (See Régis Jolivet, *De Rosmini, l’idée de la sagesse* [Paris, 1953]; Foucher, *Philosophie catholique*, 186–89; and A. Robert Caponigri’s article in *The Encyclopedia of Philosophy* [8 vols., New York, 1967], VII, 213–16.)

certain "dangerous" principles prevalent in ontological circles, some philosophical tour de force was necessary to save ontology from damnation. Hugonin's successor at the Sorbonne, the versatile Jules Fabre d'Envieu, exegete, linguist, philosopher, and theologian, did this by turning Aquinas into an Augustinian. But even Fabre admitted that Aquinas' Augustinianism was weakened by his empiricist borrowings from the Stagirite.⁶³ Although Aquinas was included in the ontological pantheon, the ontologists did not believe in a Christian philosophy as such. Like some Thomists, they argued that a philosophy already existed that was consonant with Christianity. Thus they differed from the traditionalists and from probably the best mind influenced by Bautain's ideas, Abbé Alphonse Gratry (1805-1872), who, in Foucher's opinion, made the most complete attempt in nineteenth-century France to develop a Catholic philosophy.

Horton's eagerness to establish Bautain as a seminal figure led him to make the dubious charge that Gratry covertly plagiarized Bautain's ideas. As a Strasbourg disciple of Bautain, Gratry was greatly influenced by him. But clerical suspicions about the orthodoxy of Bautain made it impossible for Gratry to acknowledge his debt directly and possibly forced him to indulge in some logomachizing to ensure that he would not be tainted by the charge of heresy, so freely flung at opponents by ruthless philosophers and theologians and by the eagle-eyed journalistic custodians of orthodoxy like Veuillot and Bonnetty. Gratry, a *polytechnicien*, interpreting science in its modern sense, consciously aimed at fulfilling the prophecy of Maistre, in the *Soirées de St. Pétersbourg*, that fame would come to the man who would put an end to the impious eighteenth century by reuniting in himself religion and science on the basis of their natural affinity, a task attempted with a different scientific emphasis by Pierre Teilhard de Chardin.⁶⁴ The theme of Gratry's thought, which presented a paradoxical challenge to nineteenth-century scientism,⁶⁵ was his contention that the Christian idea of an infinite, perfect God is vital to the survival of philosophy and science. Only that idea could keep them from ending in pantheism, skepticism, or Hegelian contradictions.

Gratry was antitraditionalist, but he did not accept Cartesianism. Like Aquinas, he held to a religious empiricism. Like Bordas-Demoulin and Renouvier, he was much influenced by his exposure to infinitesimal calculus at the Polytechnique.

⁶³ Jules Fabre d'Envieu, *Défense de l'ontologisme contre les attaques récentes de quelques écrivains qui se disent disciples de saint Thomas* (Paris, 1862). Fabre's work of 159 pages was prompted by the interpretation of the Jesuit Henry Ramière that the seven propositions condemned by the Holy Office in 1861 meant the condemnation of ontologism, although it was not mentioned specifically.

⁶⁴ Alphonse Gratry's philosophy is found in his three major works: *De la Connaissance de Dieu* (Paris, 1853), *Logique* (Paris, 1855), *De la Connaissance de l'âme* (Paris, 1858). But he believed that only a religious group could succeed in this immense task. (BN, NAF 27414, fols. 224-25; see L. L. Braun, *Gratrys Theorie der religiösen Erkenntnis* [Strasbourg, 1914].)

⁶⁵ It would be wrong to consider, from a philosophical viewpoint, the École polytechnique solely as "the source of the scientific hubris," which one might well do after reading F. A. Hayek, *The Counter-Revolution of Science* (Glencoe, Ill., 1952), 105-16. Such Catholic teachers and students as Antoine Lavoisier, André-Marie Ampère, Augustin Cauchy, Bordas-Demoulin, Gratry, and Lequier illustrate the antiscientistic and sometimes mystical outlook of some *polytechniciens*.

In the opinion of the seventeenth-century Christian mathematician Jacques Ozanam, "Il appartient aux docteurs de Sorbonne de disputer, au pape de prononcer, et aux mathématiciens d'aller au paradis par la perpendiculaire." Gratry replaced the perpendicular by the infinite. According to Foucher, Gratry thought that the chief proof of God's existence is the nonintuitive immediate certainty deriving from a general dialectical process applied to the principle of being. This is another aspect of the principle of transcendence, which is a fundamental law of reason in so far as it is a heuristic tool used to establish first truths in science, ethics, and philosophy.⁶⁶ His acceptance of the existence of the infinite put him on the side of Antoine-Augustin Cournot and Félix Ravaisson against J.-L. Lagrange, Comte, and Renouvier in the great debate over the existence of the infinite and its philosophical significance. Gratry continued the argument with Saisset of the Normale, thus defending his concept of the infinite while carrying on the Catholic jihad against eclecticism.⁶⁷ In upholding the position that the infinite is not an idea but an instinct that is the essence of our reason, Gratry, following Bautain, replaced eclectic rationalism and its impersonal reason by his own anti-intellectualist variety of rationalism. Gratry rejected the key epistemological doctrine of traditionalism, which consecrated general reason as the criterion of certainty. In rejecting the Platonism of the ontological movement, he came close to the Aristotelianism of Thomism. Foucher appropriately categorized his philosophy as a mystical phenomenology in which one does not think by representations, but feels things directly. Gratry's philosophy was far from Thomism, but it was anti-traditionalistic, and, since it had certain elements in common with the philosophy of Aquinas, whom Gratry considered a philosopher of the first rank, Gratry was a John the Baptist preparing for the later triumph of Thomism.

It seemed to the eclectics, as Saisset argued, that Gratry's aim was to place the mind under the yoke of theology rather than to accelerate the return of nineteenth-century philosophy to religion. This was repugnant to eclectics like Saisset who had made a patron saint of Descartes ("à la fois libre penseur et homme religieux").⁶⁸ Although the Mennaisians ferociously opposed, both politically and intellectually, the eclecticism of the university, nearly all Catholics expressed some opposition to Cousin after his famous course of 1828.⁶⁹ Here Cousin seemed pantheistic, and Bautain attacked the danger of pantheism by his *Philosophie du*

⁶⁶ Foucher, *Philosophie catholique*, 206. As Eugène Poitou, *Les Philosophes contemporains et leurs systèmes religieux* (Paris, 1864), 293, points out, Gratry equated, that is, confused, the infinite of the geometers with that of reason, two different entities.

⁶⁷ See Émile Saisset, "Une logique nouvelle à l'oratoire," *Revue des deux mondes*, 2d Ser., XI (1855), 913-42, where he argues that the new logic is a confused "mélange," supported by fantastic analogies, because it tries to reduce to a single method the irreducible inductive process and the dialectical method ("Comment assimiler la méthode dont s'est servi Ampère pour trouver la loi des courants électriques avec celle qui conduisit Platon au premier principe de la vérité et de l'être?") Gratry's reply (*Le Correspondant*, New Ser., I [Oct. 25, 1855], 30-61) did not really answer Saisset's arguments. See E. J. Scheller, *Grundlagen der Erkenntnislehre bei Gratry* (Halle, 1929); and B. Pointud-Guillemot, *Essai sur la philosophie de Gratry* (Paris, 1917).

⁶⁸ Saisset, "Logique nouvelle à l'oratoire," 942.

⁶⁹ Victor Cousin, *Cours de philosophie* (2 vols., Paris, 1828-29).

christianisme (Paris, 1835). Maret continued the attack, especially with an *Essai sur le panthéisme dans les sociétés modernes* (Paris, 1839).⁷⁰ Maret's *Théodicée chrétienne* criticized the natural theodicy of eclecticism. Cousin's *Des Pensées de Pascal, rapport à l'Académie française sur la nécessité d'une nouvelle édition de cet ouvrage* (Paris, 1843) assailed traditionalists as Pyrrhonists who, preferring Pascalian theological skepticism to the certainties of Bishop Bossuet, failed to join in a common effort with the new rationalism of eclecticism, which was in harmony with seventeenth-century Christian philosophy, to combat the eighteenth century and undo the social ruins of the Revolution.⁷¹ Cousin's protégé, Saisset, ingeniously detected a traditionalism in Henri Lacordaire, Maret, and Archbishop D.-A. Affre of Paris that denied the Catholic tradition of Augustine and Descartes.⁷² Saisset argued that eclecticism, unlike Hegelianism, had kept the theistic concept of the divine personality, thus avoiding pantheism. This was close to the truth, for Cousin had now moved away from the German metaphysical influence into a theism and had elaborated the siren doctrine of Neo-Cartesianism to provide for Catholics a viable alternative to traditionalism. This move had great impact on Catholic thought in accelerating the growth of Christian rationalism, as Maret's later ontological turn showed.

The opposition to Cousin sprang in considerable part from his attempt to institutionalize his philosophy within the university. Viewing the university in terms of integration along national and social lines, Cousin believed that his system, based on the principles necessary for a stable society, was the one that would divide France least. But the opening of the university to systematic treatment of, if not direct pleading for, a philosophic potion that contained elements of Cartesianism and Lockean empiricism aroused the horror of Catholics, who fought a bitter battle against a university monopoly resulting in the indoctrination of youth with "anti-Catholic" doctrines. Just as repulsive to the Catholic opposition was Cousin's attempt to establish the secular autonomy of philosophy, free from the shackles of theology.⁷³

Out of this eclectic-Catholic quarrel came one of the most celebrated intellectual skirmishes of the century, beginning with Gratry's criticism of the third volume of Étienne Vacherot's *Histoire critique de l'école d'Alexandrie* (Paris, 1850), which Gratry thought misinterpreted the Church fathers. Gratry, then chaplain at the Normale, denounced "contemporary sophism in its . . . most dangerous and least known form," as found in this work of Cousin's disciple, also at the Normale. Gratry was alarmed that "the first serious declaration of Hegelian atheism pro-

⁷⁰ A second edition appeared in 1841, at the height of the Catholic-eclectic battle. A conciliatory move by Cousin permitted Maret to obtain an appointment to the faculty of theology in 1842.

⁷¹ Foucher, *Philosophie catholique*, 157.

⁷² Émile Saisset, "De la philosophie du clergé," *Revue des deux mondes*, New Ser., VI (1844), 440-80, and "Le christianisme et la philosophie," *ibid.*, IX (1845), 1021-48.

⁷³ Doris S. Goldstein, "Official Philosophies in Modern France: The Example of Victor Cousin," *Journal of Social History*, I (Spring 1968), 259-79.

duced among us" was crowned by the Institute and hailed as a great work in university circles. It was also not difficult to find "the doctrine of the unity of all substance which aroused Christian disapproval." Probably because of clerical influence at the Ministry of Education, Vacherot was suspended from his post of *sous-directeur des études littéraires*. His protest against the *coup* of Louis Napoleon further aggravated Vacherot's position. Although his work *La démocratie* (Paris, 1860) earned him a prison term in 1859, he became a deputy in the National Assembly and then a senator for life in the Third Republic. Gratry soon resigned to pursue his work in the new Oratory until 1857.⁷⁴ Gratry became professor of ethics in the faculty of theology of the Sorbonne in 1863 and was elected to the French Academy in 1867, replacing the Baron Brugières de Barante in the chair formerly occupied by Voltaire. Like most Catholic intellectuals, he had some difficulty accepting papal infallibility. A work of his attacking infallibility led the martinet of orthodoxy P.-L. Pététot to force him completely out of the Oratory in 1870, but Gratry made a typical retraction and remained within the fold of orthodoxy.

Hegelianism was Gratry's *bête noire*. His battle against Renan and Vacherot is, in part, an attack on thinkers "corrupted" by Hegel. Gratry saw Hegel's philosophy as a new sophistry; his opposition to Hegel must be understood in the light of Gratry's attempt to establish the initial truths of religious philosophy by a new analysis of the syllogistic and dialectical operations of reason, both of which assumed the principles of identity and induction. Gratry thought that Hegel had tried to destroy both and was therefore the source of all types of atheism and pantheism. He often criticized doctrines not found in Hegel, who did not simply and purely oppose Aristotle nor entirely deny the principle of contradiction. It is clear that there was no true Hegelian philosophy in France, although components of Hegelianism appeared in the philosophic thought of thinkers as diverse as Taine, Renan, Vacherot, Barrès, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Stéphane Mallarmé, and Charles Péguy. The influence of Hegel on Cousin was obvious in 1828, when Cousin was trying to create a new philosophy of liberty that would agree with the spirit of the Revolution, so incompatible with the sensationalism of Condillac. German philosophy appeared a natural ally for Cousin's *via moderna*. But when eighteenth-century French philosophy was vanquished, Cousin turned to an attempt to found metaphysics on psychology and necessarily against the Germans. Thus it is not illogical to see Hegelianism, in so far as it influenced Taine, Renan, and Vacherot, in opposition to eclecticism. In the Second Empire a conflict arose between Hegelianism and eclecticism on the one hand and between Hegelianism and religiously inspired philosophy on the other.⁷⁵

⁷⁴ Charlton, *Secular Religions*, 115. *La grande encyclopédie* (31 vols., Paris [1886-1902]), XXXI, 647, cites from Vacherot's "Papiers inédits" his opinion that "La théologie n'est qu'une psychologie supérieure." (See Alphonse Gratry, *Une étude sur la sophistique contemporaine avec la réponse de M. Vacherot et la réplique de l'abbé Gratry* [Paris, 1851].)

⁷⁵ The third part of Alphonse Gratry's *Les sophistes et la critique* (Paris, 1864) is a frontal attack

It was not only among a small number of the clergy that the development of nontraditionalist Christian philosophy took place in nineteenth-century France; several lay figures stand above all the rest in their intellectual orientation toward Catholicism, or at least Christianity: Bordas-Demoulin, Frédéric Morin, and Lequier, all of whom developed their philosophies parallel with but in opposition to the traditionalist and authoritarian intellectual current so strong in nineteenth-century French Catholicism.

The Catholic Bordas-Demoulin (1798–1859), like the theoretical Catholic Philippe Buchez, saw the French Revolution as Christian in its principles. (Buchez [1796–1865] is well known to historians for his collaboration with P.-C. Roux-Lavergne on the *Histoire parlementaire de la révolution française* [40 vols., Paris, 1834–38].) Bordas' argument, in the *Essais sur la réforme catholique*, that the Church, in its internal evolution, must follow civil society from autocracy to democracy was the reverse of the dominant trend in ecclesiastical politics in the nineteenth century. He is a suitable patron saint for clerical radicals in the post-Vatican II era. For Bordas the Revolution had as its aims the liberation of the individual and the attainment of the brotherhood of man. Christians ought to finish the Revolution on a political level by working for such things as universal suffrage and democracy and on a social level by opposing capitalist exploitation. Bordas defined progress as the social application of the Gospels. Equally refreshing was his praise for the eighteenth century: although anti-Christian in outlook, it involuntarily showed how Christianity offered the solution to modern social and political problems.⁷⁶

As a *polytechnicien*, Bordas had a great interest in science and mathematics, especially in the polemic over the rational legitimacy of infinitesimal calculus. He lined up in defense of this mathematical panacea with Hoëné Wronski against the strictures of Lagrange and the eighteenth century. Rejecting the empiricist philosophy of Condillac and Pierre Laromiguière along with traditionalism, eclecticism, and the theory of necessary progress involving pantheism, Bordas developed a modernized Platonic-Cartesian philosophy. This philosophy influenced both Renouvier and Gratry, especially the latter in his philosophical use of infinitesimal calculus in "proving" the existence of God.⁷⁷ Bordas attempted to build his metaphysics on the foundation of scientific progress. Free from the rancor that

on Hegelianism. Carl Schmitt, *Politische Romantik* (Munich, 1925), 95, n. 1, has argued that a French version of the Hegel-Schelling quarrel occurred when Ravaisson, influenced by Schelling, attacked what Schmitt exaggerates as the *Scientismus* of Taine, Claude Bernard, Marcelin Berthelot, and Renan. (See A. Forest, "L'hégélianisme en France," *Rivista di filosofia neo-scolastica*, special suppl., XXIII [Dec. 1931], *Hegel nel centenario della sua morte*.)

⁷⁶ Jean-Baptiste Bordas-Demoulin's *Mélanges philosophiques et religieux* (Paris, 1846), *Les pouvoirs constitutifs de l'église* (Paris, 1853), and *Essais sur la réforme catholique* (Paris, 1856), although anathema to the Catholic establishment, gave the most intelligent counterarguments to the type of attack most cogently stated in P.-J. Proudhon's *De justice dans la Révolution et dans l'église* (3 vols., Paris, 1857). On Buchez, see François-André Isambert, *De la charbonnerie au saint-simonisme: Étude sur la jeunesse de Buchez* (Paris, 1966), and *Politique, religion et science de l'homme chez Philippe Buchez, 1796–1865* (Paris, 1967).

⁷⁷ Foucher, *Philosophie catholique*, 117–24.

political factors engendered in traditionalism, Bordas took a moderately critical position on Cousin, even defending him from the more typical harsh attacks of Catholics. Cousin's inclusion of a treatise by Bordas⁷⁸ for *couronnement* by the *Académie des sciences morales* in 1840 was an adroit move emphasizing a common bond of Cartesianism between Cartesian Catholics and the eclectics. Returning to the Platonic theory of ideas, to Plotinus, and to Augustine, in opposition to the theories of Epicurus, Aristotle, and Zeno of Citium, Bordas consecrated individual activity without accepting the necessity of skeptical relativism. "Individuality is the foundation of modern society and the source of all true progress because it activates and develops all our powers. To crush it would force us back to pre-Christian society."⁷⁹

The ideas of the unorthodox and prolific Catholic Morin (1823-1874) were related in some respects to the thought of Bordas. After attending the Normale, Morin taught philosophy in several *lycées* before being forced into private education in 1852 as a result of his refusal to take the required oath of loyalty to the Emperor.⁸⁰ Although a disciple of Ozanam, he was in the intellectually republican group (Vacherot, Émile Deschanel, Louis Jourdan, Jean Reynaud, Amédée Guillemin) associated with *La morale indépendante*, founded in 1865 by Marie-Alexandre Massol and Henri Brisson. The aim of establishing a morality not based on religion stimulated the sympathy of Renouvier, who had written a *Manuel républicain de l'homme et du citoyen* (Paris, 1848) and whose *Science de la morale* (2 vols., Paris, 1869) showed his intellectual involvement in the movement. Fighting mainly against Catholic opposition, especially Monsignor Félix Dupanloup and *Le moniteur du clergé*, Morin tried to gain entry into the Church for the idea of an independent morality. But his republican-tainted theory that individual and group progress takes place through revolution, just as the history of mankind is a series of revolutions, had no appeal for the Catholic establishment, ideologically at ease within the Second Empire.⁸¹

The fine line distinguishing orthodoxy from heterodoxy was also hard to detect in the philosophical fragments of the Catholic *polytechnicien* and poetic philosopher Lequier. More Pascalian than Cartesian,⁸² he rejected the reconciliation of science and religion in thinkers like Bautain and Bordas and tried to work out a new apologetic giving a rational legitimacy to his belief.⁸³ In his consideration

⁷⁸ It was included in Victor Cousin, *Cartésianisme ou la véritable rénovation des sciences* (Paris, 1843).

⁷⁹ Jean-Baptiste Bordas-Demoulin, *Œuvres posthumes* (2 vols., Paris, 1861), I, 153, cited in Bréhier, *Histoire de la philosophie*, II, 838. On Bordas, see François Huet, *Histoire de la vie et des ouvrages de Bordas-Demoulin* (2 vols., Paris, 1861).

⁸⁰ He became a general councilor (Rhône) in 1767 and acting prefect of Saône-et-Loire in 1870.

⁸¹ See Clarisse Coignet, *De Kant à Bergson* (Paris, 1911), Chap. 1; and Jules Simon's eulogy of Morin in an introd. to Frédéric Morin, *Politique et philosophie* (Paris, 1876), vii-xlvi.

⁸² Lequier could not, of course, escape being influenced by the Christian rationalism of which Descartes was a patron saint in the 1840's.

⁸³ Louis Foucher, *La jeunesse de Renouvier et sa première philosophie* (Paris, 1927), 92-93; see also Jean Grenier, *La philosophie de Jules Lequier* (Paris, 1936), esp. 51-72, and his introd. to *Jules Lequier, Œuvres complètes* (Neuchâtel, 1952).

of Catholic dogma, Lequier worked out a plan for its reinterpretation and explanation that attempted to emulate the Scholastics, especially Duns Scotus, in their emphasis on liberty. Like theology, morality needed revising through a search for truth concerning man's destiny, in which the all-pervasive idea of free will in man and his institutions played a key role. Influenced by J.-G. Fichte, Lequier saw the task of Catholic philosophers primarily in terms of opposition to the Hegelian ideas of necessity and determinism; he thus avoided pantheism. Lequier followed his hero Aristotle in claiming that man escapes necessity by the act of thinking about it, a truth that had become the heritage of the Church.⁸⁴

Although it is hardly a guarantee of originality to be included among the thinkers classified as precursors of existentialism, Lequier has been identified with Schelling and Søren Kierkegaard as "one of the greatest philosophers of existence."⁸⁵ In spite of an obvious relation, Lequier's thought has no clear line of descent to the Catholic existentialism of Gabriel Marcel or the related personalism of Mounier. It was through the neocriticist Renouvier (1815-1903) that secularized, or at least de-Catholicized, strains of Lequier's thought survived. Foucher showed in his study of the young Renouvier, whose chief inspiration was initially pantheist and Hegelian, the deep influence of Lequier.⁸⁶ Both were concerned with constructing a rational synthesis centered on the problem stemming from the concept of freedom, but Lequier, unlike Renouvier, worked within the parameters of Catholic dogma. Foucher, following Renouvier himself, concluded that Renouvier arrived at his personalist and historical theism through Lequier, thus explaining the world and man through the free wills of God and man.⁸⁷

One of the most remarkable features of nineteenth-century French Catholic intellectual life, revealed partially in the influence of Fichte's *Bestimmung des Menschen* on Lequier, was its close relationship with the currents of the German Catholic intellectual world, which was by the 1830's in a vastly different situation from what Madame de Staël described in *De l'Allemagne* (Paris, 1810).⁸⁸ Apart

⁸⁴ See Foucher, *Philosophie catholique*, 130-44. On the influence of Fichte, see Xavier Tilliette, *Jules Lequier ou le tourment de la liberté* (Paris, 1964), 107-82; see also *id.*, "Connaissance de Jules Lequier (1814-1862)," *Revue de métaphysique et de morale*, LXVIII (No. 1, 1963), 70-84.

⁸⁵ Jean-Paul Sartre's "Faire, et en faisant, se faire" is in Lequier's anti-Hegelian "Faire, non pas devenir, mais faire, et, en faisant, se faire," although Lequier's "faire" applies more to knowledge than to existence. (Jean Wahl, *Tableau de la philosophie française* [Paris, 1946], 153, and *Esquisse pour une histoire de l'existentialisme* [Paris, 1949], 62.)

⁸⁶ It is gross simplification to state that "very probably his [Renouvier's] own philosophic career was given its fundamental orientation by Comte [his mathematics teacher at the Polytechnique]." (W. M. Simon, *European Positivism in the Nineteenth Century* [Ithaca, N. Y., 1963], 102; see Grenier, *Philosophie de Jules Lequier*, 230-50.)

⁸⁷ Foucher, *Philosophie catholique*, 142. "En somme, pour Renouvier, Lequier est un neo-kantien." (Grenier, *Jules Lequier, Œuvres complètes*, viii.)

⁸⁸ Madame de Staël saw German Catholics in a defensive attitude, harmful to the progress of ideas, leaving the Protestants a monopoly in literature and philosophy. But even as early as 1813 this was nonsense. German philosophy was becoming accessible in translation in the 1830's: Baron A.-T.-H. Barchou de Penhoën translated Johann Fichte, *Destination de l'homme* (Paris, 1832), and published an *Histoire de la philosophie allemande depuis Leibnitz jusqu'à Hegel* (2 vols., Paris, 1836). See Monchoux, *Allemagne devant les lettres françaises*, esp. Chaps. v, xix. Jean-Marie Carré, *Les écrivains français et le mirage allemand* (Paris, 1947), gives a general critical survey of French intellectuals and Germany.

from the well-known figures like Klemens Brentano, Friedrich von Schlegel, and Sulpice and Melchior Boisserée, associated with romantico-Catholicism, there were three major currents of Catholic thought, centered in certain institutions. The Kantian rationalism of Georg Hermes of the Catholic faculty of theology at Bonn was condemned by Rome in 1835. In Vienna "the Catholic Hegel," Father Anthon Günther, based upon Descartes a dualistic theism that avoided pantheism, but was not radically different from idealism. The school at Münster was unusual for Germany because it was ultramontane and devoutly Scholastic in opposition to most modern philosophy. In Tübingen, where the great figure was Johann-Adam Möhler, more historian and theologian than philosopher, the theologians developed the twin ideas that dogma evolved and that the Church was an evolving organism. But the brightest star in the German Catholic intellectual firmament was Munich; here, Schelling, Franz Xaver von Baader, Joseph von Görres, Brentano, K.-J.-H. Windischmann, and Döllinger made up the intellectual spearhead of European Catholicism. Edmond Vermeil's thesis of 1913 put forward Tübingen as the most significant of all the German schools. Tübingen was not seduced by the Romantic neomysticism in full flower in Bavaria, the decadent rationalism strong in Baden, or the new type of ultramontanism of the Rhineland. Vermeil saw Tübingen as the school of synthesis, whose clear, profound, and fiery ideology was the fountainhead of Modernism, which appeared in Germany, in England with John Cardinal Newman and George Tyrrell, and then in the Latin countries. A chain reaction was strongly implied, although the diffusion of the ideas was not traced in any convincing fashion.⁸⁹

French interest in German intellectual life had existed since the mid-eighteenth century, but until the last decade of that century there was little attempt to see the originality and profundity of German thought. The credit for the new approach to German thought and literature is usually given to Madame de Staël, with little mention made of her predecessor, the Catholic *émigré* from Lorraine, aristocrat and pupil of the Benedictines, Charles de Villers. In the *Spectateur du Nord, journal politique, littéraire et moral*, which was published at Hamburg from 1797 to 1802, Villers tried to achieve his great aim of providing a means of communication between the French and the Germans in all intellectual areas, but especially in philosophy. What Christ was to the Greeks, Kant was to the French, who adopted Abbé E.-J. Sieyès' opinion that Kant was unintelligible to every Frenchman and that his philosophy was "un inutile casse-tête, un nouveau déluge de scholastique." Villers's articles in the *Spectateur* gave the longest and most systematic treatment of Kant, especially the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, available in French until that time. The *Spectateur* concluded correctly in an issue in 1800

⁸⁹ Edmond Vermeil, *Jean-Adam Möhler et l'école catholique de Tübingue (1815-1840): Étude sur la théologie romantique en Wurtemberg et les origines germaniques du modernisme* (Paris, 1913). For general treatment, see Roger Aubert, *Le pontificat de Pie IX (Histoire de l'église)* (26 vols., Paris 1934-), XXI, esp. Chap. vii, Sect. 2; and Franz Schnabel, *Deutsche Geschichte im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (4 vols., Freiburg, 1936; reprinted 1955), IV.

that "The substance of what M. de Villers wrote in this paper is to be found in everything that Mme. de Staël has said about German literature."⁹⁰

As Derré has shown, some Frenchmen were following German intellectual developments closely before *De l'Allemagne* appeared.⁹¹ Baron von Humboldt lived in Paris after 1805, and while Schlegel was in Paris he gave a course in literature and in the philosophy of art and assembled the material for his *Über die Sprache und Weisheit der Indier, ein Beitrag zur Begründung der Alterthumskunde* (Heidelberg, 1808, published in French in 1837). Especially enticing for French Catholics was the freedom existing in many German universities in contrast to the government controls imposed in the French system. Eckstein followed the courses of the philologist Creuzer and studied Sanskrit at Heidelberg. He had close relations with Görres, his German alter ego. Döllinger, his close friend, wrote a preface for his posthumous work in 1862. Many of his articles were translated, especially in the Munich periodical *Eos*. After Eckstein's *Le Catholique* ceased publication in 1829, *Le Mémorial catholique et la revue catholique* gave considerable space to praising Schlegel and carried a series of articles on Möhler. An attempt, particularly by Döllinger, to establish close publishing relations with the *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift*⁹² never reached fruition owing to the disappearance of the Mennaisian periodical in 1830. *Le Correspondant* continued the tradition by a long study of G.-E. Lessing when Eugène Rodriguez' translation of Lessing's *Die Erziehung des Menschengeschlechts* (Berlin, 1780) appeared in 1830.⁹³ *L'Avenir*, especially in 1830 and 1831, also carried articles on Johann Wolfgang von Goethe by Lacordaire, on Novalis by Montalembert, and on the painters J.-F. Overbeck and Peter von Cornelius. Baader's contributions appeared frequently. But *L'Avenir* was more political and social than its predecessors.

The *Revue européenne* (1831-35) gave prominence to German intellectual

⁹⁰ On Villers and the *Spectateur*, see Paul Hazard, "Le Spectateur du Nord," *Revue d'histoire littéraire de la France*, XIII (1906), 26-50. Charles de Villers's studies appeared as *Philosophie de Kant ou principes fondamentaux de la philosophie transcendante* (2 vols., Metz, 1801; 2d ed., 1830). His *Essai sur l'esprit et l'influence de la réformation de Luther* (Paris, 1804) was honored by the *Institut de France* in 1805 and translated into several languages. The Baron Nicolas Massias, who fought against *sensualisme*, especially the Comte A. Destutt de Tracy, and tried to reconcile Condillac and Kant, wrote a *Lettre à M. Stapfer sur le système de Kant et sur le problème de l'esprit humain* (Paris, 1827).

⁹¹ Mention might also be made of Saint-Marc-Girardin, journalist, deputy, and substitute for Guizot at the Sorbonne, who published *Notices politiques et littéraires sur l'Allemagne* in 1834 (Paris, dated 1835) and, as a result of his study *De l'instruction intermédiaire et de son état dans le Midi de l'Allemagne* (2 pts., Paris, 1835-39), drew the attention of the French to their deficiencies in technical and vocational education. Alfred Michiels's *Études sur l'Allemagne renfermant une histoire de la peinture allemande* (Paris) appeared in 1840 and in a second edition in 1850; see also his *La théorie de Kant sur le sublime, exposée par un Français en 1780* (Paris, 1852). See Derré, *Lamennais*, esp. Chaps. I-IV, IX, XI for Mennaisian intellectual relations with Germany. On Bautain and Germany, see the works of Paul Poupard, esp. "Lettre de Möhler à Bautain sur les rapports de la raison et de la foi," *Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques*, XLII (1958), 455-82, and "Abbé Bautain und die Katholische-Theologische Fakultät Tübingen. Zu zwei unveröffentlichten Briefen von Möhler und Herbst an Bautain," *Theologische Quartalschrift*, CXXXVIII (1958), 460-70.

⁹² Agreement could not be complete, however, for the *Theologische Quartalschrift* rejected Maistre's ultramontanism and the Mennaisian philosophy of common sense.

⁹³ "... si l'on néglige leurs prolongements ésotériques, les idées de Lessing sont devenues, dans la France de 1830, le bien commune de la pensée chrétienne." (Derré, *Lamennais*, 39.)

matters: Eloi Jourdain's years in Germany in the early thirties produced three articles on Baader,⁹⁴ and, in his letters on Germany, three articles on the moral and intellectual state of Prussia.⁹⁵ In his *Souvenirs de jeunesse*, 1828–1835,⁹⁶ Jourdain devoted the second part to his German experiences, giving a critical estimate of such Catholic intellectuals as Baader, Görres, and Döllinger. Only for Döllinger did he express unqualified respect. It was in the *Revue* that Léon Boré wrote in 1832 his famous article "D'un moyen de remédier à l'insuffisance de l'enseignement en France." Long before Renan, he called for the creation of specialized chairs in the French university and recommended specialized training in Germany for French Catholic scholars. Boré thought, of course, that the plodding Germans would amass the materials that the sophisticated French could use more profitably. Boré's preface to his translation of Döllinger (*Origines du christianisme* [2 vols., Paris, 1842]) showed his hostility to Hegel's philosophy of religion and his horror at the spread of pantheism by Jean-Louis-Eugène Lerminier's *Au-delà du Rhin* (Paris, 1835) and Quinet's *Génie des religions* (Paris, 1842).⁹⁷ Animated by a desire to outflank the university monopoly through a Catholic institution, those prominent on the *Revue*, like De Carné, Cazalès, and Boré, established an Association of German Studies in 1833, and a group of French students went to Munich. After the encyclical *Singulari nos* (1834), the *Revue* came to an end, and the Munich group under Cazalès disbanded.⁹⁸ Probably as a result of his personal contacts in Munich in 1832, Lamennais shared the opinion of Gerbet that although "Germany is the factory of ideas . . . it is the India of Europe, the country of intuition," and the danger was that the logical spirit would be lost in the proliferation of intellectual constructs, many of which were like the castles in Spain of metaphysics.⁹⁹ After Lamennais's *Paroles d'un croyant* (Paris, 1834), the alarm of German Catholics completed his disillusionment with Germany.

Bonnetty's periodical *Annales* devoted some space to German thought. Its coverage, although not quite so bad as Derré states,¹⁰⁰ was inferior to that of the Mennaisian periodicals. It carried the translations of Schlegel by Eugène Boré¹⁰¹

⁹⁴ Eloi Jourdain, "Exposition du système philosophique de M. de Baader," *La Revue européenne*, I (1831), 71–85, and "Analyse de la philosophie de Baader," *ibid.*, III (1832), 65–76, 184–201.

⁹⁵ *Id.*, "Lettre sur l'Allemagne," *ibid.*, V (1832), 181–207, and "De l'état moral et intellectuel de la Prusse," *ibid.*, VI (1833), 179–89, 310–25.

⁹⁶ Charles-Sainte Foi (Eloi Jourdain), *Souvenirs de jeunesse*, ed. C. Latreille (Paris, 1911), Pt. 2.

⁹⁷ Lerminier, who had studied law in Germany, was professor of comparative legislation at the Collège de France, 1831–1838 and 1849–1857. He also wrote *Lettres philosophiques adressées à un Berlinois* (Paris, 1832). Other translations by Boré were Joseph von Görres' *Jeanne d'Arc d'après les chroniques contemporaines* (Paris, 1843) and Johann Wolfgang von Goethe's *Hermann et Dorothee* (Paris, 1886).

⁹⁸ Derré (*Lamennais*, 528) exaggerates the effect of the end of the *Revue* as "l'abandon des ambitions scientifiques et métaphysiques dans lesquelles la réflexion catholique française avait prise une vie nouvelle."

⁹⁹ Philippe Gerbet, *Conférences de philosophie catholique: Introduction à la philosophie de l'histoire* (Paris, 1832), 130, cited in Derré, *Lamennais*, 298–99.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, 496.

¹⁰¹ Eugène Boré was Léon's brother and *professeur suppléant* of Armenian at the Collège de France before becoming superior-general of the Lazarists.

and tendentious comments on theology at Halle and Munich and, generally, on the "anti-Christian" works of German scholars. The *Annales* reprinted some of Quinet's criticism of David Friedrich Strauss's *Das Leben Jesu* (Tübingen, 1836), translated by Émile Littré in 1839-1840, and in 1845-1847 carried a series of articles on Strauss's German adversaries. In 1842 two articles of E. W. Hengstenberg on the weakening of faith in the authenticity of the Pentateuch were translated. Abbé Hyacinthe de Valroger, former director of the *Grand Séminaire* at Bayeux and then a founder of the new Oratory, wrote two articles in 1843 on Hegel.¹⁰² Germany was not ignored, even if nothing startling emerged from the anti-rationalist-Protestant line followed in the *Annales*.

The clerical intelligentsia, aware of the significance of German religious studies, favored sending some students to Germany, the most famous of whom were Maret and G.-R. Meignan, in the 1840's, and H. Vollot in the 1860's. Maret and Meignan spent most of their time in Munich, but Vollot went to Tübingen. A contemporary of Maurice d'Hulst, who chose to study in Rome, Vollot died after a short time on the faculty of theology of the Sorbonne. Maret, who became dean of the faculty, always kept in touch with the German world. The residence of Meignan, Vollot's predecessor at the Sorbonne and then bishop of Châlons, in Munich and Berlin produced more written evidence for the effect of German ecclesiastical science on a young French priest than the stay of any other cleric. His notes on the philosophers were considerable, but those on the disputes produced by German exegesis were voluminous. He preferred J. A. W. Neander to F. C. Baur¹⁰³ and followed the work of scholars like Albrecht Ritschl, J. F. K. Keil, Hengstenberg, and, especially, G. H. A. von Ewald. In Berlin he got little satisfaction from Schelling's lectures, but was consoled by discussing Catholic theology with Neander. This exposure to German criticism had little impact on the outlook of the French clergy, who generally followed the advice of Maret to Meignan: "You will be in the midst of rationalism, child of the Reformation. Follow its tactics closely." The erudition and method of teaching at Halle and Bonn excited Meignan, but he noted sadly that "the Protestant principle distorts science and makes learning fruitless." Only at Louvain was it obvious how useful this erudition and method could be "when a Catholic hand knows how to use them."¹⁰⁴

General Catholic periodicals as well as the specialized periodicals of the clergy brought to the attention of readers many German currents of thought and works.¹⁰⁵ The implications of German scholarship became more public in 1858,

¹⁰² Hyacinthe de Valroger's translation of F. A. G. Tholuck's *Essai sur la crédibilité de l'histoire évangélique en réponse au Dr Strauss* (Paris) appeared in 1847. In his letters to Dupanloup, he regretted how little German exegesis was appreciated in France. (BN, NAF 24712, fols. 356-63, 24713, fols. 170-71, 24714, fols. 230-35.)

¹⁰³ The criticism of Strauss by both had obvious appeal for Meignan.

¹⁰⁴ See Henri Boissonnot, *Le cardinal Meignan* (Paris, 1899), esp. Chaps. vii-ix.

¹⁰⁵ In the first category were such periodicals as *Revue catholique* (1836-61) and *Bibliographie*

when the *Revue germanique* was founded by Charles Dollfus and Auguste Nefftzer with the help of Littré, Alfred Maury, Renan, and Taine.¹⁰⁶ This *Revue* soon gave a *haute vulgarisation* of German higher criticism, especially, it declared, "the liberal rational criticism of Strauss and the radical school of Tübingen, long unknown in France. . . ." This criticism was, of course, known but rejected by many of the French clergy, whereas the new secular review accepted much of it. In the first issues of 1858 Michel Nicolas presented German Biblical criticism and scholarly opinions on the antecedents of Christianity. Abbé Arthur Le Hir of Saint-Sulpice wrote a reply to Nicolas' article.¹⁰⁷ Meignan also counterattacked, rehashing the old teachings of Tübingen and other German schools.¹⁰⁸ That Meignan's series was never finished indicated the general lack of interest among French Catholics in the quarrels. In 1861 the Jesuit *Études* carried articles attacking those of the *Revue germanique*.¹⁰⁹ The furor created by Renan's *La vie de Jésus* in 1863 was the culmination of a quarrel whose origins went back at least to the 1830's and which became especially heated in the 1850's and the 1860's.¹¹⁰ Although the quality of French Catholic scholarship was not so high as it became in the Modernist era of Louis Duchesne and Alfred Loisy, it was by no means helpless before the rationalist critique, as is frequently asserted.

The black picture of Catholic religious scholarship has a venerable history, dating from Lamennais's *Réflexions sur l'état de l'église* (Paris, 1808), which denounced the degradation of learning among the eighteenth-century clergy.¹¹¹ In 1843 an infuriated Michelet along with Quinet made his slashing attack on *Des Jésuites*: "What is done in the seminaries . . . is known by the nullity of its results"; their graduates were as ignorant of science as of the world. Vacherot made a more solid and more reserved criticism in 1868.¹¹² He criticized the clergy for giving literary, oratorical, or metaphysical answers to the questions raised by the scientific criticism of Strauss and Renan. This was essentially the same criti-

catholique (1841-89); in the second were periodicals like *Archives du clergé catholique* (1855) and, especially, *Archives de la théologie catholique* (1861-).

¹⁰⁶ It was later called *Revue germanique, française et étrangère* (1858-69). The general aim of the review was "faire connaître l'Allemagne savante à la France." (Claude Digeon, *La Crise allemande de la pensée française, 1870-1914* [Paris, 1869], 42.) Edmond de Pressensé immediately stated his fear that the *Revue* would propagandize pantheist Germany to the exclusion of Christian Germany. (*Revue chrétienne*, V [1858], *ibid.*)

¹⁰⁷ Abbé Legrand (Arthur Le Hir), "Saint Pierre et saint Paul en face des juifs et des judaïsants: Études sur les temps apostoliques," *Univers*, Mar. 15, 18, 1859.

¹⁰⁸ G.-R. Meignan, "D'un mouvement anti-religieux en France," *Le Correspondant*, New Ser., X, (Feb. 1859), 225-50; (Mar. 1859), 428-55.

¹⁰⁹ See, e.g., H. Mertian, "Les origines du christianisme d'après la *Revue germanique*," and "Les origines du christianisme d'après l'école de Tubingue," *Études*, III (1861), 60-87, 396-423, 605-35.

¹¹⁰ *Études* trained its heavy artillery on Renan: "M. Renan et l'exégèse antichrétienne," *ibid.*, I (1859), 161-218; "M. Renan," *ibid.*, New Ser., II (1863), 597-633; "Les distractions de M. Renan," *ibid.*, 841-61, in which Alexandre Bourquenoud attacked Renan's competence in Near Eastern studies; and "M. Renan et la grammaire hébraïque," *ibid.*, 1063-76.

¹¹¹ For a partial antidote to Lamennais's attack, see R. R. Palmer, *Catholics and Unbelievers in Eighteenth Century France* (Princeton, N. J., 1939).

¹¹² Étienne Vacherot, "La théologie catholique en France," *Revue des deux mondes*, LXXVI (2^e période, 1868), 294-318. This article brought a reply from Alphonse Gratry, "Lettres sur la religion, réponse à M. Vacherot," *ibid.*, LXXX (2^e période, 1869), 129-48; and a reply from Vacherot, "La méthode théologique," *ibid.*, 149-71.

cism later made by Albert Houtin's attack in *La question biblique chez les catholiques de France au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1902). Thus, as Alec R. Vidler states, neither liberals nor intransigents were ready to face Renan's challenge of criticism or to understand it.¹¹³ Is this true? Had the condemnation of Richard Simon's works in the seventeenth century retarded Biblical criticism in France for over a century?¹¹⁴

There were certainly grave deficiencies in nineteenth-century Catholic scholarship in France. These shortcomings were part of a wider pattern of general backwardness, especially in areas vital for the history of religions, in the French university itself. Unimaginative bureaucratic control combined with conservative clerical influence made the system partially moribund. Although the *Institut d'Égypte* and the *École des langues orientales* had been founded in 1795, Fraysinoux excluded the controversial science of Egyptology from the university in the heyday of Champollion. But by mid-century enlightened Catholic opinion was aware of the need for the new scholarship and was confidently charting the course for the future. Abbé A.-L.-A. Perraud, professor of ecclesiastical history at the Sorbonne, did not share all of the hostile opinions of J.-B. Bossuet on Simon. Enlightened by F. X. Reithmayr of Munich, he recognized a "healthy and fertile part" of Simon's work.¹¹⁵ It is generally argued that seminary training was bad; that few clergy went beyond the seminary to train in the Catholic faculties of theology maintained by the state aggravated this deficiency. The fears of Rome and the hierarchy concerning the control of the state over doctrine and also by the suspicions of Rome concerning the orthodoxy of professors like Maret explain the lack of attendance. The difficulties of Monsignor D.-A. Affre in the 1840's in establishing the *Maison des Carmes* for higher Catholic studies indicate the lack of enthusiasm in Rome and the opposition of the July Monarchy to any private educational facilities. Having no students or teachers, the Toulouse faculty of theology closed in 1830. But Salinis had been professor of dogma at Bordeaux; Cazalès had headed the *Petit Séminaire* at Nîmes and then the *Grand Séminaire* at Montauban; and J.-J.-L. Bargès had taught Arabic at Marseilles. Some of the provincial seminaries harbored good scholars, like Valroger at Bayeux and L.-J. Bondil at Digne, although they frequently found their way to Paris,¹¹⁶ whose

¹¹³ Alec R. Vidler, *The Modernist Movement in the Roman Church* (Cambridge, Eng., 1934), 30.

¹¹⁴ This opinion was stated in a "Rapport sur les progrès des études sémitiques in France, 1840-1866," *Recueil de rapports sur les progrès des lettres et des sciences en France* (Paris, 1867).

¹¹⁵ A.-L.-A. Perraud (later cardinal bishop of Autun), *L'oratoire de France au XVII^e et au XIX^e siècle* (Paris, 1865), 501-503. The numerous letters of Perraud in the Dupanloup Papers reveal his immersion in the scholarship of the day. (BN, NAF 24701, esp. fols. 531-617.) Renan also admired Simon: "La méthode de Simon est la vraie; c'est elle de la raison pénétrante, aidée par un immense savoir. La connaissance profonde des langues orientales. . ." Renan accused Bossuet of having killed Biblical studies in France and of preparing the way for Voltaire. (Ernest Renan, "L'exégèse biblique et l'esprit français," *Revue des deux mondes*, LX [2^e période, 1865], 235-45.)

¹¹⁶ In 1849 Archbishop Marie D.-A. Sibour issued an "Ordonnance relative à un examen annuel pour les jeunes prêtres de Paris," in Scripture, dogma, ethics, canon law, and history during the first five years after ordination. (AN, F¹⁹ 4087; also relevant are *ibid.*, F¹⁹ 3112-13, personnel: Supérieurs des petits séminaires; 3968, Séminaires: enseignement en général; rapports avec l'université,

Circean attraction for all scholars enervated provincial intellectual life. Until 1828, when a bowdlerized version of Abbé Jean-Hermann Janssens' *Hermeneutica sacra* (Louvain, 1818) became available, no manual of Scripture was used. Even at Saint-Sulpice, which was also responsible for a quarter of all French seminaries, Antoine Garnier, who was in charge of Scripture for nearly the first half of the nineteenth century, had little knowledge of German criticism.

Yet one of the most brilliant products of the clerical system, Renan, gave an estimate of his education that is, on the whole, favorable.¹¹⁷ Renan appreciated the solid classical education of Dupanloup ("Virgile lui semblait faire partie de la culture intellectuelle d'un prêtre au moins autant que la bible") dispensed at Saint-Nicolas du Chardonnet, although the study of the sciences was excluded. For Renan, Saint-Nicolas was "la maison la plus brillante et la plus mondaine." This education had a weak basis in ideas, and its superficial humanism was incapable of preserving his faith after three years' exposure to reason and "la recherche critique de la vérité." He received the scientific and philosophical training that destroyed his faith at Saint-Sulpice, the Gallican-oriented seminary of freedom and virtue, where the rhetoric of Dupanloup, the antirationalism of Lamennais, and the romantic theology of Lacordaire were equally scorned. In the "beau parc mystique d'Issy," Renan imbibed for two years a Cartesian-Scholastic intellectual concoction, denounced by the Neo-Catholics as rationalist, that gave him an excellent training in logic and his clarity of mind.¹¹⁸ German philosophy was known at Issy. Cousin and Jouffroy, although not in the curriculum, were the subject of lively polemics. When Renan entered Saint-Sulpice for his theology the course in Scripture consisted mostly of an assistant's reading aloud Garnier's huge manuscript, which was based on enormous erudition, solid linguistic knowledge, and late eighteenth-century Biblical exegesis.¹¹⁹ Garnier's pupil and successor, Le Hir, was steeped in German exegesis and theology, especially that of Heinrich Friedrich Wilhelm Gesenius and Ewald. Although Hebrew was not compulsory, Renan devoured the Semitic languages taught by Le Hir, a better comparative grammarian, said Renan, than Quatremère of the Collège de France. Renan and

état du personnel enseignant des 87 séminaires diocésains; 4090, Facultés de théologie; 4092-94, Commission et École des hautes études ecclésiastiques [École des Carmes et chapitres Ste. Geneviève . . . 1825-1876].)

¹¹⁷ Ernest Renan, *Souvenirs d'enfance et de jeunesse* (Paris, 1883), a work not much used by the critics of clerical education. Jean Pommier, *La jeunesse cléricale d'Ernest Renan* (Paris, 1933), 59, 449, gives a low estimate of the value of the Sulpician education and sees apologetic essentially unchanged since the eighteenth century. Pommier's work is a massive and indispensable analysis, but he completely underestimates the religious revolution developing in Catholic scholarship.

¹¹⁸ J.-A.-A. Manier, one of Renan's teachers, was much influenced by Thomas Reed, the Scottish philosopher. The clerical intelligentsia adroitly used translations of the anti-Enlightenment Scottish philosophers Dugald Stewart and Reed in their fight against the legacy of the eighteenth century in France. (See, e.g., Abbé P.-H. Mabire's edition of the *Philosophie de Thomas Reed* [Paris, 1884].) Renan's hostile attitude toward the eighteenth century was formed at Saint-Sulpice.

¹¹⁹ Garnier was the pupil and collaborator of Abbé Lourdet, the occupant of the chair of Hebrew at the old Collège royale, who did considerable work in Armenian. Quatremère, himself an austere Jansenist-type Catholic, paid homage to him in the *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, 2d Ser., XIX (1839), 7-25. Garnier was among the Sulpicians sent to Baltimore in 1791 to found a seminary; Chateaubriand was on the same voyage of the *Saint-Pierre*. Garnier returned to France in 1803.

Le Hir necessarily drifted apart and often disagreed over Semitic topics. The master sometimes showed his more famous pupil to be wrong, as in the case of the Phoenician inscriptions Renan discovered in 1862.¹²⁰

Le Hir was not alone in the Catholic world in examining the questions posed by the new Near Eastern studies. Abbé J.-J.-L. Bargès, a specialist in Arabic, Abbé François-Marie Bertrand of Versailles, and Alexandre Bourquenoud were among a growing number of the clergy who, instead of opposing one German authority to another in the fashion of Meignan, were now beginning to examine the evidence themselves. This new mood and approach were clear before the appearance of *La vie de Jésus*. Abbé Henry-Joseph Crelier contested Renan's interpretation of the moral system in Job, and Émile Hautcoeur, showing his mastery of German scholarship, attacked Renan's translation of the Song of Songs.¹²¹ Bonnetty's *Annales* clearly showed the *esprit nouveau* in carrying articles by Félix Nève of Louvain on the renaissance of Syriac studies and Jules Mohr on the progress of studies in Near Eastern languages, history, and religion.¹²² Jules Oppert's translations of the "Inscriptions des Sargonides" added the dimension of Assyrian history.¹²³

This new critical spirit coexisted with the older uncritical type of learning that found its most indefatigable servant in the *auvergnat* entrepreneur Abbé J.-P. Migne, recognized by C.-V. Langlois as one of the most extraordinary polygraphs and compilers in the history of learning. Much of the intellectual part of the vast collective enterprise was done by Dom J.-B. Pitra, a well-known patrologist. On his own press Migne printed his most notable collections: 221 volumes of *Patrologia latina*, 1844-1855, and 166 volumes of *Patrologia graeca*, 1857-1866, putting writers of doctoral dissertations and of official Church documents eternally in his debt. It is significant that Migne's *Catholicum Lexicon hébraïque et chaldéen* was severely criticized by Bargès of the Sorbonne.¹²⁴ The critical spirit, recognizing only scholarly excellence, gave no quarter to the antiquated, tendentious type of scholarship.

The prevalent idea that the Church was dumfounded by *La vie de Jésus* because there was no one among the clergy to meet Renan on his own ground of

¹²⁰ Arthur Le Hir, *Épigraphie phénicienne: Examen des inscriptions d'Oumm-el-Awamid expliquées par M. Renan* (Paris, 1864). Le Hir accused Renan of spreading false translations. In Renan's *Souvenirs* (p. 151) he said of Le Hir: "Il s'occupa des inscriptions phéniciennes et fit une supposition très ingénieuse, qui depuis a été confirmée." Pommier (*Jeunesse cléricale d'Ernest Renan*, 487), in spite of Renan's perceptive remarks to the contrary, concludes that Le Hir was not superior to Garnier.

¹²¹ Abbé H.-J. Crelier, "Examen du système moral attribué au livre de Job par M. E. Renan," *Revue des sciences ecclésiastiques*, I (1860), 305-21; E. Hautcoeur, "Le cantique de cantiques: Étude sur la traduction de M. Renan," *ibid.*, II (1860), 121-42.

¹²² Félix Nève, "De la renaissance des études syriaques," *Annales de philosophie chrétienne*, IX (1854), 7-25, 85-103; X (1854), 421-36; Jules Mohr, "Tableau des progrès faits dans l'étude des langues, de l'histoire et des traditions religieuses des peuples de l'Orient pendant les années 1858 et 1859," *ibid.*, XX (1859), 245-70, 325-52.

¹²³ "Les inscriptions des Sargonides," *ibid.*, VI (1862), 43-75, 183-208.

¹²⁴ Bonnetty attacked Bargès as an audacious novice who knew more Arabic than Hebrew. ("Examen impartial du catholicum lexicon hébraïque et chaldéen publié par M. l'abbé Migne et des critiques dont il a été l'objet," *ibid.*, 3d Ser., XIX [1849], 61-78.)

Biblical exegesis is obviously nonsense.¹²⁵ Renan's exegesis was not the threat; it was his axiomatic rejection of the supernatural and his messianic assumption of the defense of "a religious humanism against the scribes and pharisees of the Catholic Church."¹²⁶ Meignan quickly pointed out that criticism of Renan by the German Protestant scholars of Tübingen and Göttingen was epitomized by the harsh judgment of Karl Theodor Keim: "Renan n'a écrit qu'un roman ayant l'air de toucher de grandes questions, et n'en résolvant aucune."¹²⁷ It is appropriate that the most successful Catholic reply was also a novel, Veuillot's *Vie de Notre Seigneur Jésus Christ. Dieu et homme* (Paris, 1863; 3d ed., 1864; 11th ed., 1889).¹²⁸ The furor over Renan's *La vie de Jésus*, in many ways another family quarrel, had little to do with the serious issues involved in Biblical scholarship. On these issues Catholic scholarship was solid if embryonic. Those who, like Vacherot, denounced the lack of Catholic religious science merely arraigned the descendants of Bossuet (Charles-Émile Freppel, Dupanloup, and Affre) and the philosopher-theologians (Maret and Bautain), who could not be expected to be saturated in Biblical exegesis, and failed to deal with the Catholic scholars, such as Le Hir, Bargès, and Crelieu, who, more or less in the tradition of Simon, more than held their own in the new science of religions. This tradition produced Renan and would produce the great flowering of Catholic scholarship of the Modernist epoch of Loisy and Duchesne.¹²⁹

The approach to discovering the roots of the Modernist crisis has all too often been a version of the birth of Pallas Athena, surely one of the very few areas of intellectual history now suffering from the Dark Ages-Renaissance syndrome. John Ratté has recently pointed out that "Modernists and orthodox historians rejected the efforts of Edmond Vermeil to trace Modernist ideas back to the work of John-Adam Möhler and [Johan-Sebastian von] Drey at Tübingen in the 1820's."¹³⁰ Vermeil's analysis did not, of course, attempt "to determine in detail the sources and the origins of French Modernism, or to question its powerful originality." He simply wanted "to reconnect it to a current of thought that already has been within the womb of Catholicism itself for a century. . . ." Vermeil did suggest analogies, some of which may be questioned, among Loisy, Möhler, and Newman, and he did assert that "The Tübingen theologians did not . . . distinguish faith from science," a concept, he noted, developed admirably by the Modernists Le Roy, Blondel, and Laberthonnière. But it is only on the last of

¹²⁵ H. W. Wardman, *Ernest Renan* (London, 1964), 82, recognizes only Le Hir's capability.

¹²⁶ *Ibid.*, 89.

¹²⁷ Boissonnot, *Meignan*, 192.

¹²⁸ Obviously inferior in all respects save orthodoxy—presumably Dom Guéranger safeguarded that—to the work of Renan, it still sold well. The work of Renan, like the condemned *Génie* of Chateaubriand, inspired many Catholics, including the clergy. For a new, friendly assessment of Renan, "un génie méconnu," see Don Sauveur Paganelli, *Ernest Renan* (Uzès, 1966).

¹²⁹ See the superb study of Émile Poulat, *Histoire, dogme et critique dans la crise moderniste* (Paris, 1962), which does not, however, probe the earlier nineteenth-century roots of Modernism.

¹³⁰ John Ratté, *Three Modernists: Alfred Loisy, George Tyrrell, William L. Sullivan* (New York, 1967), 29, 41, n. 42.

nearly five hundred pages that he said that the intellectual tradition of "la théologie wurtembergoise" was developed in Germany, reached England a little later, and then settled in France after the long work of slow infiltration that gave German Romanticism an important influence on French thought in the nineteenth century. When Rome fights the Modernist movement, he concluded, it is really fighting the German ("germanique") and Northern European conception of Catholicism,¹³¹ a conclusion that curial conservatives might be willing to agree to in these days of Hans Küng, Edward Schillebeeckx, and Karl Rahner, although the contamination of Latin and even American Catholicism indicates that heterodoxy is just as international today as it was in the early twentieth century. It is easy enough to assert that Möhler had no influence on Loisy, Tyrrell, and Friedrich von Hügel. Perhaps the problem has been approached from the wrong end. It may be that the important questions are to what extent French and German thought interacted in the first half of the nineteenth century and to what extent the ideas generated by that contact survived and developed in France. It is hard to believe that the ferment generated by Franco-German religious contacts in the first half of the nineteenth century had no influence on developments in the second half of the century.

One could, of course, adopt the view of Renan that Bossuet killed Biblical studies in France by his attack on Simon.¹³² Those inclined to dismiss this as a fantastic hypothesis should remember that the process has been elevated to the status of "a basic law of intellectual history" by Friedrich Heer:

whenever the thinking of a religious, political or social group is forced into a corner by some specific historical circumstance, usually in a life and death struggle, the shock of this experience creates a psychological block which can prevent further thinking in the given traumatic area for centuries afterward. In other words, whole complexes of ideas and impressions are simply blotted out. This blocking occurs whether it is the inner or the outer existence of the group which is threatened.¹³³

But the task of applying this conceptual model to the history of French Catholic thought from the seventeenth century to the twentieth century does not fall within the scope of this essay.¹³⁴

The purpose of this article has been to plead for an examination of the ostensibly orthodox Catholic thought of nineteenth-century France as a vital link in

¹³¹ Vermeil, *Jean-Adam Möhler*, 445-73, esp. 463, 469, 473. It might be interesting to consider the encounter as a clash of "two ways of thinking": the Modernist "hard-centred approach," with its assumption of the possibility of "explanation," and the "soft-centred approach," which gives a description, calls it "a spiritual reality," and treats the name as an explanation. "Reverence is the soft-centred equivalent of curiosity." (See "On Hard and Soft Centres," in Alex Comfort, *Darwin and the Naked Lady* [New York, 1962], 1-22.)

¹³² See note 115, above. Renan probably exaggerated the French deficiencies, thus, incidentally, enhancing his own importance in "introducing" German criticism into France. C.-F. Dupuis and C.-F. Volney made important contributions before the German "higher critics." (George A. Wells, "Stages of New Testament Criticism," *Journal of the History of Ideas*, XXX [No. 2, 1969], 147-60.)

¹³³ Friedrich Heer, *The Intellectual History of Europe*, tr. Jonathan Steinberg (2 vols., Garden City, N. Y., 1968), I, 3.

¹³⁴ The eighteenth-century variables that will not fit into this model may be found in Palmer, *Catholics and Unbelievers*, esp. Chap. v.

understanding the intellectual whirlwind that struck in the early twentieth century. This paper has also made evident, I hope, that there was an astounding variety of Catholic systems of thought in the nineteenth century, rather than the stagnant pool of orthodoxy in which, some writers assume, the Church was drowning. The adoption of Thomism by the establishment as a quasi-official philosophy probably had as one of its results, although it may fall under the law of unintended consequences, the relegation into the category of risky speculation, if not heterodoxy, of the Catholic philosophical-theological quarrels that gave Rome so much *Angst* throughout the nineteenth century. The growing rigidity of doctrine promoted by Rome, as a means of ending the debates of the nineteenth century, it was hoped, had, with the Modernist crisis, the reverse result: a family quarrel became a crusade in which true believer confronted infidel, with no middle ground between *romanità* and heresy, or at least schism.¹³⁵ Even the assumption of a paradigm of orthodoxy for French Catholic thought in the nineteenth century does not preclude the importance of that thought for understanding the Modernist period. As Alfred North Whitehead pointed out, "Theology itself exhibits exactly the same character of gradual development, arising from an aspect of conflict between its own proper ideas. This fact is a commonplace to theologians, but it is often obscured in the stress of controversy."¹³⁶ This process of the theological dialectic continues, even within what appears to be the most orthodox of periods, as the Le Hir-Renan relationship showed, and one could easily list a host of heretics or schismatics hatched in the incubators of orthodoxy. Whatever the importance of the Oedipal complex in explaining these intellectual mutations, another cerebral factor should be kept in mind:

Christian and anti-Christian systems can always be deduced from every significant theological and philosophical system. Aristotle, Aquinas, Descartes, Kant, and Marx were theistic and atheistic at the same time. The most orthodox thinkers, the church fathers of philosophy and theology, all contain their opposite in themselves. Hence they turn out to be powerful promoters of heresy while they were consciously defending orthodoxy. A good deal of the nonconformist systems of thought and belief prevailing in Europe can be traced back to Paul, Augustine, Scotus, and Eckhart.¹³⁷

If we accept Loisy's argument that the essential aim of Modernism was, while remaining within Catholicism and without damaging the unity of the Church, to break the absolutism of theological belief and especially to remodel the intellectual regime of the Church and its teaching, then there is a remarkable structural similarity between the aims of the Modernists and those of most Catholic intellectuals in the nineteenth century. The *Institut catholique* may have been, as Vidler said, the nursery of Modernism, but the institution was not created *ex*

¹³⁵ See Ratté, *Three Modernists*, 337–52, for comment on this last point.

¹³⁶ Alfred North Whitehead, *Science and the Modern World* (Cambridge, Eng., 1929, originally pub. in 1926), 226.

¹³⁷ Heer, *Intellectual History*, I, xii. Similar is the ingenious attempt to explain the plethora of political interpretations of Rousseau, while still maintaining the unity of his thought. See Peter Gay's introd. to Ernst Cassirer, *The Question of Jean-Jacques Rousseau* (Bloomington, Ind., 1963).

nihilo. Its intellectual roots go back beyond 1875. Perhaps not a little of the explanation of the thought of the Modernists is to be found in the supposedly sterile concoctions with which the seminarians were force fed. But it can hardly be denied that Rome, horrified by the isotopes of Catholic thought, decided that a clash of doctrines is not an opportunity but a disaster—to invert Whitehead's aphorism—and opted for the theology of "Le paysan de la Garonne."¹³⁸ To what extent Modernist thought is a highly qualified derivative of much of nineteenth-century orthodoxy, in some ways comparable to the relationship, perhaps, between James Joyce's Thomism and the thought of Aquinas,¹³⁹ is a question that may have a surprising answer.

¹³⁸ Jacques Maritain, *Le paysan de la Garonne: Un vieux laïc s'interroge à propos du temps présent* (Paris, 1966). I realize that, distasteful as it may be to the intelligentsia, "one must credit the conservative opponents of too radical an *aggiornamento* with a good deal of sociological instinct." (Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy: Elements of a Sociological Theory of Religion* [Garden City, N. Y., 1967], 170.)

¹³⁹ William T. Noon, *Joyce and Aquinas* (New Haven, Conn., 1957), vii, concludes that the connection "is for the most part a matter of thematic correspondences and general categories or affinities of outlook." It has long been believed by historians of science that "One of the characteristics of orthodoxy seems to be that it stimulates heresy. . . ." (L. Pearce Williams, *The Origins of Field Theory* [New York, 1966], 31.) A book that should be the vade mecum of intellectual historians is Thomas S. Kuhn, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions* (Chicago, 1962).

American Jurisprudence between the Wars: Legal Realism and the Crisis of Democratic Theory

EDWARD A. PURCELL, JR.

DURING the 1930's the American legal profession became the forum for one of the most bitter and sustained intellectual debates in the nation's history. A new generation of legal scholars, inspired by Justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., and attempting a scientific study of law, was developing a sweeping critique of American jurisprudence that went far beyond the criticisms of such sociological jurists as Roscoe Pound and Benjamin N. Cardozo. By 1930 their stinging attacks on established legal conceptions had alarmed traditional-minded jurists and within a few years had raised distressing questions from the standpoint of democratic theory about the nature and basis of law. The frightening challenge of totalitarianism in the late thirties moved the debate out of the realm of mere juristic speculation and gave it a tone of urgency and crisis.

The new legal criticism developed out of the same intellectual environment that generated new attitudes throughout American intellectual life. The increasing prominence of the physical sciences, at least since the time of Charles Darwin, had been convincing more and more individuals that knowledge of the physical world and of human beings themselves could only be attained through the use of the scientific method. By the beginning of the twentieth century the pragmatism of William James and especially of John Dewey had provided a broad philosophy that attempted to explain the human and social meaning of science and that suggested how the scientific method could be employed to understand and resolve human problems on all levels. Large numbers of American thinkers in many diverse fields began to adopt a more empirical, experimental, and relativistic attitude toward the problems and guiding assumptions of their disciplines. The impact of science and pragmatism, together with the desire for the improvement of man's social and political life that many intellectuals shared, brought new vitality, ideas, and methods to the expanding social sciences.

Through such approaches as functionalism and behaviorism, American psychologists were striving to make their discipline experimental; the new science began to play an increasingly prominent role in the social thought of the twentieth

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century. By offering to explain the sources and nature of human behavior, psychology promised to bring the elusive human factor under control and to enable social scientists to make their work wholly empirical. "The importance of the rapid rise of psychology in recent years," explained Edward S. Robinson, a psychologist working with the Yale University Law School, "is that it supplies a background for a natural science of society which has hitherto been lacking."¹ Because psychology seemed to answer an intellectual need that had grown acute by the twenties, many social scientists turned toward its discoveries and theories with renewed hope and enthusiasm.

Rejecting the prescriptive theories of classical economics, such scholars as Thorstein Veblen and Wesley Mitchell studied production and distribution as problems in the institutional behavior of individuals and groups. "Economics," Mitchell declared, "is a science of human behavior."² Charles Merriam urged his fellow political scientists to apply the discoveries of psychology and the other social sciences to the study of politics, and along with many of his colleagues produced closely detailed studies of the actual operations of governments, politicians, and pressure groups. Bronisław Malinowski refined techniques of careful observation and description in anthropological field work and developed a theory of society based on the functional interrelationships of all parts of a culture.³ Throughout those disciplines the new empirical, experimental approach emphasized the importance of analyzing social phenomena in terms of functions and behavior.

Along with the primary reliance upon scientific methods came a pervasive epistemological and ethical relativism. Because valid knowledge had to be based on empirical evidence, all a priori absolutes were unproven and unprovable. All knowledge was necessarily tentative and subject to change. Since science supposedly dealt only with objective facts and was morally neutral, the one practically reliable method of reaching truths was inoperative where questions of an ethical nature were concerned. Although a few men such as Dewey maintained that the scientific method could develop and substantiate moral values, most scholars in the interwar decades were not convinced. The empirical documentation of widespread cultural relativism by anthropologists like Ruth Benedict confirmed the relativistic trend, as did the analyses of the nature of historical knowledge by such scholars as Carl Becker and Charles Beard. By the early thirties both Beard and Becker were arguing that historical judgments could never be truly objective because they were based on partial evidence, were not subject to experimental testing, and were warped by the desires and beliefs of the historian. Value judg-

¹ Edward S. Robinson, *Law and the Lawyers* (New York, 1935), 49.

² Wesley Clair Mitchell, "The Prospects of Economics," in *The Trend of Economics*, ed. Rexford G. Tugwell (New York, 1935), 22.

³ For examples, see Charles Merriam, *New Aspects of Politics* (Chicago, 1925); Bronisław Malinowski, "Introduction," in Robert I. Hogbin, *Law and Order in Polynesia—A Study of Primitive Legal Institutions* (2d ed., Hamden, Conn., 1961).

ments, Beard concluded along with most of his contemporaries, "cannot be 'proved' by reference to historical occurrences or anything else."⁴

While the basic attitudes of an empirical and relativistic social science spread throughout most of American intellectual life, they penetrated legal thinking slowly and haltingly. As late as the 1920's the predominant legal theory still claimed that judicial decisions were made on the basis of rules and precedents defined historically and applied mechanically. The eighteenth-century concept of natural law served vaguely as the moral foundation for legislative and judicial actions, while Sir William Blackstone's statement of the common law provided many of the supposed first principles on which judicial decisions were based. The old legal theory claimed that reasoning proceeded syllogistically from those rules and precedents through the particular facts of a case to a clear decision. The sole function of the judge was to discover the proper rules and precedents involved and to apply them to the case as first premises. Once he had done that, the judge could decide the case logically with certainty and uniformity.⁵

In spite of its established predominance, however, the old legal theory had already come under forceful attack by the beginning of the twenties. As early as 1881 Justice Holmes, then a young lawyer in Boston, had published his famous study of the common law, which he placed in an evolutionary Darwinistic framework. Holmes argued that practical expedients, necessitated by the needs and conflicts of human society, were much more central to the development of law than were any logical propositions. *The Common Law* was, to use a congenial Holmesian metaphor, the first cannon shot in his fifty-year battle against the armies of legalistic formalism.

By 1897 the basic outline of his scientific, relativist attack was clear. Law was not an abstract problem of logic, but a practical question of social management. Judges did not in fact settle cases by deductive reasoning; rather they necessarily decided what was socially desirable according to their personal and class beliefs. Those beliefs, like all moral values, were wholly relative and determined by one's particular environment. The power of deductive logic and the ethical and social absolutes that the method claimed to establish were simply illusions that masked the actual working of the legal process. By the law, Holmes declared, he meant no metaphysical truths or grand moral principles such as a rationally knowable "natural law," but only "the incidence of the public force through the instrumentality of the courts." The lawyer's sole duty was to predict how the courts would use that force, and hence to advise his clients most effectively. Thus defining the

⁴ Charles A. Beard, *The Discussion of Human Affairs* (New York, 1936), 119-20; see also *id.*, "Written History as an Act of Faith," *American Historical Review*, XXXIX (Jan. 1934), 219-29; Carl L. Becker, "Everyman His Own Historian," *ibid.*, XXXVII (Jan. 1932), 221-36; Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (New York, 1934).

⁵ See Roscoe Pound's original attack, "Mechanical Jurisprudence," *Columbia Law Review*, VIII (Dec. 1908), 605-23; Edwin W. Patterson, *Jurisprudence: Men and Ideas of the Law* (Brooklyn, N. Y., 1953), 465-66; and Wilfred E. Rumble, Jr., *American Legal Realism: Skepticism, Reform, and the Judicial Process* (Ithaca, N. Y., 1968), 49-51.

law in empirical, behavioral terms, Holmes urged his colleagues to study "the operations of the law" rather than its phraseology or moral connotations.⁶

By the first decade of the twentieth century other scholars were beginning to follow Holmes's lead and to apply the insights of the new scientific, pragmatic outlook. John Chipman Gray, a professor of law at Harvard University, stressed the pre-eminent role of the individual judge as opposed to the logic of the law itself in deciding particular cases. Louis D. Brandeis, and later Felix Frankfurter, argued that judges must consciously consider the probable social results of their decisions. Scientific studies of social needs and problems, rather than syllogistic reasoning, should be the determining factor. To guide the judges in their assessment of those social results, both men employed briefs loaded with a maximum of sociological evidence and a minimum of logical argumentation.⁷

Much of the theoretical justification for the "Brandeis brief" came from the work of a young law professor at the University of Nebraska, Roscoe Pound, who wrote a series of articles showing the need for and relevance of a new sociological jurisprudence. "The sociological movement in jurisprudence," he explained in 1908, "is a movement for pragmatism as a philosophy of law."⁸ Agreeing with Holmes that legal scholars must study the way laws operate in practice, Pound insisted that the overemphasis on logical uniformity and theoretical certainty that characterized much of the older approach often frustrated the just practical settlement of particular cases. Only by studying the social impact of legal principles and rules could men know whether the law in fact brought about the administration of real justice. While Pound and Holmes agreed on many points, especially on the mechanical and abstract nature of the older legal theory, Pound's greater emphasis on the ideal of justice conflicted with Holmes's more cynical view of moral values in the law. Ultimately that difference would be one of the central reasons for Pound's rejection of Holmes's disciples, who were to some extent also his own, in the 1930's.

It was thus in a rigid and formalistic profession that nevertheless had produced a Holmes and a Pound, and in a broader intellectual environment that recognized science as the method of reaching truth, that the so-called legal realists came of age. Of a sample of twenty-two of the most important new critics only five had been born before 1880, while eight were born during the 1880's, and nine after 1890. By 1930 when their collective efforts were first termed "legal realism" their average age was still only forty-two.⁹ Thus the realists formed a younger genera-

⁶ Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr., "The Path of the Law," in *The Mind and Faith of Justice Holmes: His Speeches, Essays, Letters and Judicial Opinions*, ed. Max Lerner (New York, 1943), 72, 76.

⁷ John Chipman Gray, *The Nature and Sources of Law* (2d ed., Boston, 1963), 99-101, 168-73. For the "Brandeis brief," see the account in Robert E. Cushman and Robert F. Cushman, *Cases in Constitutional Law* (New York, 1958), 580.

⁸ Pound, "Mechanical Jurisprudence," 609.

⁹ Eighteen of the twenty-two were taken from Karl Llewellyn's initial identification of those whom he considered leading realists. (Karl N. Llewellyn, "Some Realism about Realism—Responding to Dean Pound," *Harvard Law Review*, XLIV [June 1931], 1222-64.) The eighteen are Underhill Moore, Herman Oliphant, Charles E. Clark, Llewellyn, Jerome Frank, Walter Wheeler Cook, Thomas Reed Powell, Leon Green, Max Radin, William O. Douglas, Hessel E. Yntema, Edwin W. Patterson, Arthur

tion of scholars, less committed to what they regarded as the rigid ways of the past and more willing to follow new methods and ideas. Having grown up with the spread of the scientific outlook and the successful growth of the social sciences, they readily accepted a critical, empirical attitude and hoped to apply it to the study of the legal process. Facing the need to discuss the observed facts of judicial behavior, many of the realists turned toward psychological theory for a scientific framework within which to work.

While their pragmatic attitude made them hostile toward the older legal theory and their age put them in the position of a new generation ready to criticize established methods, the state of American law invited and even necessitated their devastating attacks. The inconsistencies between the practices of a rapidly changing industrial nation and the claims of a mechanical juristic system had grown so acute by the 1920's that in the minds of an increasing number of individuals the old jurisprudence could no longer justify and explain contemporary practice. It had become clear, Judge Cardozo declared in 1932, that "the agitations and the promptings of a changing civilization" demanded more flexible legal forms and demanded equally "a jurisprudence and philosophy adequate to justify the change."¹⁰

At the same time even many of the strict proponents of the old jurisprudence had to admit that widespread confusion and uncertainty threatened the American legal system. Such a stalwart of orthodoxy as Elihu Root acknowledged that "the confusion, the uncertainty, was growing worse from year to year" and that as a result "the law was becoming guesswork."¹¹ Root, like many other lawyers, found the cause of confusion primarily in the massive growth of case law during the previous decades. The whole case law system had, in fact, become unwieldy since the 1870's when the National Reporter system was inaugurated. At that time the West Publishing Company had begun printing all federal court opinions throughout the United States, in addition to all higher and some lower state court decisions. By the beginning of the twentieth century the National Reporter system had turned the inevitably increasing number of cases into an avalanche of reported precedents that made it impossible for judges to stay properly informed.¹² To their

L. Corbin, Wesley A. Sturges, Leon Tulin, Joseph F. Francis, Joseph W. Bingham, and E. G. Lorenzen. Biographical material was unavailable for two of Llewellyn's original twenty (Joseph C. Hutcheson and Samuel Klaus). Four other scholars (Walter Nelles, Thurman Arnold, Robinson, and Felix S. Cohen) have impressed me as significant contributors to realism and have been added for that reason. The list does not include such younger realists as Myres McDougal or Fred Rodell. Brief biographical material on most of the realists is available in Association of American Law Schools, *Directory of Teachers in Member Schools* (St. Paul, Minn., 1922-41).

¹⁰ Benjamin N. Cardozo, "Jurisprudence," in *Selected Writings of Benjamin Nathan Cardozo*, ed. Margaret E. Hall (New York, 1947), 8.

¹¹ "Address of Elihu Root in Presenting the Report of the Committee," American Law Institute, *Proceedings*, I (Pt. 2, 1923), 48, cited in Rumble, *American Legal Realism*, 156. On the growth of case law, see also Benjamin N. Cardozo, *The Growth of the Law* (New Haven, Conn., 1924), I, 3-5, 16.

¹² Grant Gilmore, "Legal Realism: Its Cause and Cure," *Yale Law Journal*, LXX (June 1961), 1040-41.

great chagrin and bewilderment, members of the legal profession began uncovering contradictory and conflicting decisions with ever-increasing frequency.

That plight was so widely recognized that in 1923 Root and a number of his orthodox colleagues helped establish the American Law Institute to abolish confusion by a clear and updated "restatement" of the law. The organization's first report emphasized, in addition to the flood of precedents, a number of other contributing causes of legal uncertainty, including a lack of precision in the use of legal terms and a lack of agreement on basic common-law principles.¹³ For many of the young critics the widely acknowledged confusion was clear evidence that the syllogistic certainty of the law was a hollow claim and that the actual role of the individual judge was much wider and more crucial than the older jurisprudence allowed.

The very fact that the new American Law Institute was attempting a "restatement" of the law was an additional factor provoking the new critique. Such a "restatement" assumed that law pre-existed in some whole form that could be discovered by logical analysis and that the job of the American Law Institute was merely to write it down. Most of the members of the institute still believed in the validity of the older juristic method and thought that a more rigorous application would resolve all difficulties. Convinced that law was a human product related to changing social and cultural conditions, the new critics rejected the idea of an official "restatement" as an impossible goal.¹⁴

The practical experience of many of the realists served to strengthen their awareness of the changing and subjective elements in the legal system. The great majority of them had practiced law for at least a year before starting to teach, and they were aware of the many individual, human factors that lay behind the actions of lawyers and judges. They knew firsthand the conflicting and confused nature of many precedents and rules. Such practical experience, as well as their pragmatic outlook, helped lead many of them to hostility toward the older jurisprudence. Recognizing the need both to understand the actual relationship between law and a changing society and to explain the reasons behind contemporary practice, they began their concerted though diverse probing for a new and scientific jurisprudence.

By the end of the twenties Yale, Columbia, and Johns Hopkins Universities had become the centers of the new legal criticism. Charles E. Clark, who succeeded Robert M. Hutchins as dean of the Yale University Law School in 1929, brought such aggressive scholars as Jerome Frank, Walter Nelles, William O. Douglas, Thurman Arnold, and Robinson to New Haven. In cooperation with Johns Hopkins University three of the most scientific-minded critics, Walter

¹³ Committee on the Establishment of a Permanent Organization for the Improvement of the Law, "The Law's Uncertainty and Complexity," American Law Institute, *Proceedings*, I (Pt. 1, 1923), 66-76.

¹⁴ For a brief bibliography of the realist critique of the program of the American Law Institute, see Rumble, *American Legal Realism*, 156, n. 40.

Wheeler Cook, Herman Oliphant, and Hessel E. Yntema, founded the research-oriented Institute of Law in 1929. At Columbia University Karl N. Llewellyn, often regarded as the most important of the new critics, joined with Edwin W. Patterson, Underhill Moore, and others in publishing sharp essays probing the weaknesses of traditional jurisprudence. Dean Leon Green of Northwestern University, Felix S. Cohen of the New School for Social Research, Max Radin of the University of California, Thomas Reed Powell of Harvard University, and Judge Joseph C. Hutcheson of the United States District Court in Texas were among those whose work placed them in the forefront of the new movement.

The intense debate over legal realism as a collective movement began in 1930 when Llewellyn and Frank, then an attorney practicing in New York, published separate essays that struck the legal profession in rapid succession. Llewellyn used the phrase "Realistic Jurisprudence" to describe his suggested approach, and soon the term "legal realism" came to stand for the general attitude of all the new critics. While most of the so-called realists disliked the label, their enemies seized upon it as an epithet to brand what they considered an unsound and often dangerous attitude.

Llewellyn's article on "Realistic Jurisprudence" centered on the distinction between abstract legal verbalisms and concrete empirical facts. "The traditional approach is in terms of words; it centers on words," he explained, adding pointedly, "it has the utmost difficulty in getting beyond words."¹⁵ Legal phrases and concepts were simple devices to make the world more manageable, but the history of American law showed that those necessary abstractions "tend to take on an appearance of solidity, reality and inherent value which has no foundation in experience."¹⁶ Hence they led to a rigidity that forced new facts and situations to conform to outmoded concepts or else ignored the new altogether. Much of the law was an exercise in painful definition and strained syllogism that bore little resemblance to the real world it was supposed to govern.

Such an important concept as that of the legal rule was a perfect example of the danger and ambiguity inherent in rigid abstractions, Llewellyn declared. While such authoritative rules were supposed to lead judges to proper decisions, they were in fact so vague and confused as often to be no help at all. When lawyers talked of legal rules, no one knew whether they were the lawyer's rule or the court's; whether they represented what the courts should do, or what they had done in fact; whether courts actually followed them, or merely used them to justify a decision reached on other grounds. Such fuzzy conceptions of legal rules led to large-scale uncertainty and contradiction in actual decisions and caused massive and often absurd twisting of terms in legal argumentation. Fundamental

¹⁵ Karl N. Llewellyn, "A Realistic Jurisprudence—The Next Step," *Columbia Law Review*, XXX (Apr. 1930), 443.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 453.

conceptual imprecision, Llewellyn concluded, could only mean "confusion, profuse and inevitable."¹⁷

He insisted that there was almost always a gap between the so-called rules of a case and its practical settlement. Admitting that legal rules had some uncertain influence on judges, he resolutely maintained that a realistic study of the law demanded an examination of the extent to which the rules actually controlled or influenced the case. "You cannot generalize on this, *without investigation*," Llewellyn insisted. If men were ever to understand the legal system, they would have to study individual cases empirically. "The significance of the particular rule," he stressed, "will appear only *after* the investigation of the vital, focal phenomenon: the behavior."¹⁸

Llewellyn's empirical approach concentrated on behavior as the proper subject of study for the legal scholar. Behavior was real, whereas most legal argumentation was simply verbal game playing. Following Holmes's lead, Llewellyn defined law in terms of the coercive actions taken by government officials. Regardless of syllogisms and definitions, the actual law was what the public force would support. "What these officials do about disputes," Llewellyn wrote in a sentence that returned to haunt him, "is, to my mind, the law itself."¹⁹ Using such a definition, the whole legal process was clearly susceptible to empirical study. Again following Holmes, Llewellyn declared that concepts of justice and ethical right had to be ignored when the actual operations of the law were analyzed. Such concepts merely confused the investigator by mixing considerations of "ought" where only the realities of "is" were relevant. "The most fruitful thinking about law," he remarked, "has run steadily toward regarding law as an engine (a heterogeneous multitude of engines) having purposes, not values in itself."²⁰

Accepting most of Llewellyn's ideas, Frank went far beyond them in earning his reputation as one of the most extreme realists. Whereas Llewellyn believed that rules and precedents were relevant and of some importance, Frank did not even consider them a meaningful part of the law. To him law meant a particular judicial determination upon a particular and singular set of facts. Reducing law to what he considered an unequivocal empirical minimum, Frank equated it solely with the specific individual judicial decisions. "Until a court has passed on these facts," he insisted, "no law on that subject is yet in existence."²¹

Rules and precedents were not part of the law because they had little if any effect on actual judicial decisions. No one could reason out a decision by syllogism, Frank declared. Instead judges had "hunches" about how cases should be decided and then looked up the proper rules that would support their "hunch." "Judicial judgments, like other judgments," Frank maintained, "doubtless in most cases,

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 439.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 444.

¹⁹ Karl N. Llewellyn, *The Bramble Bush* (New York, 1930), 12.

²⁰ *Id.*, "Realistic Jurisprudence," 464.

²¹ Jerome Frank, *Law and the Modern Mind* (2d ed., New York, 1963), 50.

are worked out backward from conclusions tentatively formulated.”²² A judicial opinion was actually only the judge’s rationalization, not the real explanation for his decision. Judges manipulated precedents in the same way: after they made their decision, they sought favorable precedents or reinterpreted unfavorable ones to support it. “What the courts in fact do,” Frank charged, “is to manipulate the language of former decisions.”²³

As a result of realistic, empirical analysis of actual decisions, it became clear that the law was not a rational whole, nor even largely logical. In addition to personal prejudices, judicial objectivity was further deflected by the necessity of relying on secondhand evidence concerning the facts, relayed by lawyers, parties to the case, and witnesses who distorted the facts through prejudice, misunderstanding, ignorance, or simple falsification. The facts of any case were thus necessarily elusive and essentially subjective. The law was vague, uncertain, and necessarily partial and prejudiced. “To predict the decisions of the courts on many a point,” Frank argued, “is impossible.”²⁴

In spite of the practical uncertainty and subjectivity, Frank continued, most lawyers and judges still insisted that law was essentially rational and certain. The explanation for that contradiction, he suggested, lay in what he called the “legal absolutist” mind. The father-child pattern, bred deeply during every individual’s childhood, drove most men continually to seek some powerful authority figure which would act as a substitute for the “Father-as-Infallible-Judge.”²⁵ Because the law served as a natural authority figure, Frank concluded, it subconsciously stimulated the latent childish emotions of those who studied it. “We would seem to be justified in surmising that the subject-matter of the law is one which evokes, almost irresistibly, regressive emotions.”²⁶ Most lawyers and judges, therefore, unconsciously developed an “absolutist” viewpoint that made them see the law as a father-like authority figure, necessarily certain and just in operation. That subconscious drive prevented them from recognizing the true nature of the legal system.

The manipulation of abstract concepts provided the method with which lawyers and judges could construct a façade of certainty and absolute rationality over the confused legal process. Referring to such manipulation as “Platonism” and “Scholasticism,” he charged that the “absolutists” used “magical phrases” to convince themselves that all was well and to rationalize awkward facts. Frank considered concrete facts as the only important reality. Such abstract rationalizations were merely escapes and delusions. “Virtually empty concepts,” Frank remarked, “seem to give to the metaphysician the stable world he requires.”²⁷

²² *Ibid.*, 109; see also *ibid.*, 114–21.

²³ *Ibid.*, 159.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 19.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 98.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 65.

Because the concepts were empirically empty—they did not bear a definite and constant relation to any concrete reality—they were liable to all kinds of twisting and reinterpreting. In such a way lawyers were able to reconcile completely contradictory judicial decisions as “logical” under the same principle or precedent.

Although he declared that the great majority of men believed in the certainty of law, Frank was primarily interested in, and hostile toward, traditional legal theories and their contemporary advocates who controlled the bench and the bar. Using a technique reminiscent of that of Veblen, Frank on several occasions remarked in footnotes or appendixes that his psychoanalytic approach provided only a partial explanation for the legal quest for certainty. But after making that qualification in obscure places, usually he continued in the text to write as if that approach were the only explanation. Indeed, while consistently proclaiming lawyers and judges highly intelligent and learned men, he described them throughout as immature, childish, and irrational.

The two works by Frank and Llewellyn had an immediate impact. Pound, then dean of the Harvard Law School and the most renowned legal scholar in America, responded early in 1931, ironically in an issue of the *Harvard Law Review* dedicated to Justice Holmes on his ninetieth birthday. Although Pound had earlier espoused many of the attitudes associated with realism, by 1931 he had become wary of some of the more radical implications of pragmatism and positivism in the law. He was perhaps, in addition, moved to reply by the fact that both Llewellyn and Frank had specifically attacked his work on juristic theory. Undoubtedly having Frank most clearly in mind, Pound accused an unnamed group of “realists” of allowing their naïve faith in empiricism to lead them into a philosophical nominalism that denied the existence of legal rules, doctrines, principles, and concepts. They overemphasized irregularities and contradictions and ignored the uniformity and reasonableness of the law. By focusing on subjective motives and behavior of judges, Pound asserted, the realists were leading legal science into a dead end.²⁸

Considering his attack unfair, Llewellyn and Frank replied jointly and claimed that Pound’s criticisms were almost wholly unwarranted. The importance of the reply was that Llewellyn and Frank gathered together and defended twenty of the better-known critics who, they explained, could be taken as a fair sample of the new approach to the law. While emphasizing that the twenty represented no “school” and were by no means in complete agreement in their own attitudes, Frank and Llewellyn admitted that their criticisms of existing legal theory gave them a unified approach. By the end of 1931 the new critics had been attacked and defended, and, most importantly, they had been personally identified and categorized.²⁹

²⁸ Roscoe Pound, “The Call for a Realist Jurisprudence,” *Harvard Law Review*, XLIV (Mar. 1931), 697–711.

²⁹ Llewellyn, “Some Realism about Realism,” 1222–64. Although Llewellyn alone signed the

While Frank alone had attempted a sweeping psychoanalytic interpretation, he and Llewellyn had agreed on several key points. They assumed that human knowledge could never be certain and uniformly logical and that law was a constantly changing phenomenon. They denounced abstract verbal formulas and absolutes as the bane of clear thinking, legal or otherwise. They agreed that the "is" and the "ought" should be temporarily separated for the purpose of precise study. Finally Llewellyn and Frank were united in calling for careful empirical studies of the way the law actually operated in society, with an emphasis on the dubious practical impact of legal rules and the likelihood that judicial opinions were at least partly rationalizations. Because of that focus on judicial motivation, both of them, like most realists, looked to their colleagues in psychology for clues to help explain the legal process. Behaviorism, Freudianism, and abnormal psychology all played a role in the new movement.³⁰ Around those basic attitudes the realists centered their attacks on traditional jurisprudence.

Although the young critics were firm believers in democracy, most of them embraced an empirical relativism that raised both practical and theoretical questions about the nature of democratic government. The most important practical point of their argument was to question and in many cases to reject the idea of a government of laws rather than of men. While most democratic legal theories—and the United States Constitution—held that established and known laws alone should be binding on free citizens, the realists maintained that such laws were nonexistent and impossible to attain. Frank had argued that law was uncertain in administration and depended largely on the subjective motivations of the particular judge who heard the case. "It is fantastic, then," he had declared, "to say that usually men can warrantably act in reliance upon 'established law.'"³¹

Frank based much of his analysis of the judicial process on the work of Judge Hutcheson, who claimed that all judges reached their decisions by "hunches" based on an "intuitive flash of understanding" that revealed the proper decision in a case. He was referring, Hutcheson pointed out, not to the rationalization or the "logomachy" that the judge used to explain his opinion, but to the actual way in which he decided a case. "The vital, motivating impulse for the decision," he remarked, "is an intuitive sense of what is right or wrong for that case."³² If that were the process of decision, then the social, economic, and moral values of the judge were far more important than the rest of the legal structure, and the law was clearly a subjective, changeable phenomenon.

Most of the new critics accepted an analysis similar to Hutcheson's and tried to base their legal theory on a subjective conception of judicial decisions.

article, he explained that it had been conceived and researched in cooperation with Frank. Because Llewellyn did the actual writing, Frank did not think he should receive credit as an author.

³⁰ Patterson, *Jurisprudence*, 548–52.

³¹ Frank, *Law and the Modern Mind*, 125.

³² Joseph C. Hutcheson, Jr., "The Judgment Intuitive: The Function of the 'Hunch' in Judicial Decision," *Cornell Law Quarterly*, XIV (Apr. 1929), 285.

Radin emphasized the number of conflicting rules that pertained to any case. In such a situation the judge was forced to decide cases on an expectation of their probable social results. Since that meant a reliance on the judge's subjective value standards, the process was actually a matter of personal motivation. "Judges, we know, are people," Radin commented, and they thus make their decisions like all other people.³³ Yntema made the point even more explicitly: "The ideal of a government of laws and not of men," he maintained, "is a dream."³⁴ The subjective motives of the judge, not the existence of rules, or even constitutions, provided the key to understanding the law.

Morris R. Cohen, a philosopher at the City College of New York and a leading critic of realism, pointed to the antidemocratic implication of such a judicial theory. "To be ruled by a judge," Cohen declared, "is, to the extent that he is not bound by law, tyranny or despotism."³⁵ When the realists claimed that the judge's subjective decision was the only law, he implied, they were justifying judicial despotism.

At that point, the theoretical force of the realist critique became clear, for it rejected any concept of a higher law that could provide judges with objective, rational guidance to assure a just operative law. A pervasive scientific relativism that seemed to undermine any objective or absolute moral standard underlay the realist approach. Llewellyn and Frank had both assailed abstract logic and deductive rationalism and scorned the absolutes that those approaches generated. Their determination to make concrete empirical facts the touchstone for all analytical concepts seemed necessarily to exclude ideas of "ought" in favor of facts about "is." If what men ought to do was not identical with what they did in fact, then there was no basis in their approach for discussing moral concepts except as mere psychological data. It would, in any case, be impossible to establish the objective validity of any such ethical values.

Some of the realists made their relativism explicit and direct. Cook, another of the founders of the Institute of Law at Johns Hopkins University who had been trained first as a physicist, looked enthusiastically to the physical sciences for his legal inspiration. Scorning the futility of deduction, he emphasized that human knowledge had "reached the era of relativity." By relativity, he explained, he meant "a point of view, which, whatever may happen to specific doctrines, seems destined to remain as a permanent achievement in human thought."³⁶ Neither legal nor moral theory could escape that era.

Applying the scientific, relativist approach to the question of legal and moral

³³ Max Radin, "The Theory of Judicial Decision: Or How Judges Think," *American Bar Association Journal*, XI (June 1925), 359.

³⁴ Hessel E. Yntema, "The Hornbook Method and the Conflict of Laws," *Yale Law Journal*, XXXVII (Feb. 1928), 476.

³⁵ Morris R. Cohen, "Positivism and the Limits of Idealism in the Law," *Columbia Law Review*, XXVII (Mar. 1927), 244.

³⁶ Walter Wheeler Cook, "Scientific Method and the Law," *American Bar Association Journal*, XIII (June 1927), 305.

standards, Moore, who taught first at Columbia University and later at Yale, similarly rejected the idea of absolutes: "Ultimates are phantoms drifting upon the stream of day dreams." Arguing for a pragmatic standard of judgment, he insisted that "human experience discloses no ultimates."³⁷ Nelles, a professor at Yale University, carried the approach to its extreme. "I deny ethical *right* and *ought* without qualification," he declared in 1933. He scorned the possibility of both scientific and deductive ethics. "In the twentieth century," he remarked, "popular feeling of the wickedness of denying ethical *right* and *ought* can no longer command the unconscious deference of an important mind."³⁸ In the minds of most of the realists there could be no such thing as a demonstrable moral standard.

The pragmatism and apparent ethical relativism of men like Cook, Moore, and Nelles shocked much of the legal profession. Although the counterattack did not reach its bitterest phase until after 1935, it had clearly begun by the early thirties. John Dickinson, one of Pound's leading disciples, and Hermann Kantorowicz, a professor at the New School for Social Research, criticized the realists for dismissing the importance of rules and pointed to the philosophical difficulties in their approach.³⁹ Hutchins, then president of the University of Chicago, and Mortimer Adler, a prominent philosopher, joined the assault on realism, basing their attacks on an Aristotelian-Thomistic philosophy. Rationally knowable moral principles, not inchoate empirical facts, were the proper foundation of jurisprudence.⁴⁰ By excluding ethical considerations and reverting to a philosophical nominalism, many scholars believed, the realists were necessarily making force the only meaningful arbiter of human affairs and destroying the ethical basis of democracy.

To harm the cause of democratic government was the last thing the realists hoped to do. In attacking traditional abstractions and nonempirical concepts of justice, they were usually assailing what they considered the practical injustices of American society. Abstraction in economics and politics, as in the law, they believed, had been one of the biggest obstacles to the attainment of a truly democratic society. Frank, Oliphant, Clark, Arnold, Douglas, and Felix Cohen were all ardent New Dealers who shared a strong hostility to the method of juristic reasoning that struck down social welfare laws and wrought what they considered great human injustices. Most of the other realists expressed equally strong disapproval of the social and economic situation of the thirties. The new

³⁷ Underhill Moore, "Rational Basis of Legal Institutions," *Columbia Law Review*, XXIII (Nov. 1923), 612.

³⁸ Review of Cohen, *Ethical Systems and Legal Ideals*, *ibid.*, XXXIII (Apr. 1933), 767, 766.

³⁹ John Dickinson, "Legal Rules: Their Function in the Process of Decision," *University of Pennsylvania Law Review and American Law Register*, LXXIX (May 1931), 833-68; Hermann Kantorowicz, "Some Rationalism about Realism," *Yale Law Journal*, XLIII (June 1934), 1240-53.

⁴⁰ Hutchins' most famous attack on legal realism appeared as "The Autobiography of an Ex-Law Student," reprinted in *No Friendly Voice* (Chicago, 1936), 41-50; Mortimer Adler, "Legal Certainty," Pt. 2 of "Law and the Modern Mind: A Symposium," *Columbia Law Review*, XXXI (Jan. 1931), 82-115.

criticism was thus not intentionally hostile toward the idea of democratic government. Indeed, after 1932 it lent itself readily to the support of concrete political reform. As early as 1931 Frank defended the realists against charges that they excluded ethical considerations from the law. "*The point is,*" he retorted, "*that the rational and ethical factors are thwarted in their operations by the conventional tendency to ignore the non-rational and non-ethical factors.*"⁴¹ The problem was not whether there was something abstract called justice, but rather how human relations could be made more just in practice. Though the theoretical problems the realists raised left them open to bitter attack, the obtuse formalism of American constitutional interpretation throughout the first third of the twentieth century helped drive them to their extreme positions. The manifest human needs created by the depression further convinced them of the need for a more realistic and flexible legal theory to attain what they considered a truly democratic society.

While the early critiques of legal realism tended to be mild and often discriminating, by 1936 they were becoming wholly denunciatory. The tone of the attack grew in bitterness in proportion to the spread of fear and uncertainty created by the success of the totalitarian governments of Europe. As Americans became more acutely aware of the despotic and repressive practices in Russia, in Italy, and most especially in Germany, the great majority condemned them in clear and forceful terms. As the possibility of another war drew nearer, they clung more tightly to the ideal of democracy as the best and morally ideal form of government. The realists had raised, unintentionally, fundamental questions about the possibility and validity of democratic government at a time when the country needed reassurance and conviction.

Inside the ominous framework constructed by the existence of the totalitarian governments, a new extremism in the realist movement itself was working to invite the bitter attack. In 1935 Robinson and Arnold, who jointly conducted seminars at the Yale University Law School on psychology and the law, published studies that assumed a sweeping ethical relativism. Robinson, who revealed a marked antipathy toward traditional deductive juristic thought, argued that the whole legal system should be reformed in line with the discoveries of modern scientific psychology. Committed to a thoroughgoing empiricism, he charged that "there is not now and never has been a deductive science of ethics."⁴² Moral values developed, instead, out of concrete situations and were intelligible only in that context. No absolute, abstract, or universal moral values existed.

Arnold went beyond Robinson's position and argued that abstract theories and moral values were not only unfounded, but were wholly mythical. Moral ideals served only as satisfying symbols for emotional needs and had no further

⁴¹ Review of Llewellyn, *Bramble Bush*, *Yale Law Journal*, XL (May 1931), 1121 n. For an example of the relationship between legal realism and political reform, see Jerome Frank, "Modern Trends in Jurisprudence," *American Law School Review*, VII (Apr. 1934), 1063-69.

⁴² Robinson, *Law and the Lawyers*, 225; see also review of Harold Ernest Burt, *Legal Psychology*, *Yale Law Journal*, XLI (May 1932), 1106.

connection with anything real. The proper way to study theories and ideals, Arnold explained, was to ignore them as "principles of truth" and regard them simply "as symbolic thinking and conduct which condition the behavior of men in groups."⁴³ In fact, he concluded, if theories were to be effective as emotional symbols, they would have to be empirically false. In his sweeping rejection of the validity of such ideals Arnold left no basis for distinguishing between morally good or bad symbols or for establishing the legitimacy of any ethical position whatever. In his approach ethical values faded through relativism and out of existence.

Shortly after their two books were published, at a time when men could see the rampant brutality of Nazism, the vigorous counterattack began its harshest phase. Rufus C. Harris, dean of the Tulane University Law School, Philip Mechem, a professor at the University of Iowa Law School, and Morris R. Cohen all charged that realism paved the way for totalitarianism by denying objective ethical standards and making law an amoral coercive force.⁴⁴ Edgar Bodenheimer, an attorney in the Solicitor's Office in the Department of Labor, argued the same line in his important work on jurisprudence. "There is a certain danger that the skepticism of realistic jurisprudence may, perhaps very much against the intents and wishes of its representatives, prepare the intellectual ground for a tendency toward totalitarianism."⁴⁵

The growing condemnation of realism reached a climax in 1940 when two of the most prominent legal scholars in the country, Pound and Lon L. Fuller of Duke University, published lectures assailing the new movement. Pound had long been critical of realism, and by 1940 he was ready to name it a "give-it-up philosophy." Refusing to discuss the work of any particular individual, he issued a blanket charge against them all: "The political and juristic preaching of today leads logically to [political] absolutism."⁴⁶ Fuller, like Pound, had earlier shared some of the attitudes associated with realism, but by 1934 he had turned into a stalwart critic. Realism attempted the impossible, he argued, for man could never ignore the ethical problems in the law, not even for the alleged purpose of scientific scholarship. In the end realism "remains formal and sterile." Such a negative attitude spreading through society was a major cause, he explained, "in bringing Germany and Spain to the disasters which engulfed those countries."⁴⁷

⁴³ Thurman Arnold, *The Symbols of Government* (2d ed., New York, 1962), xiv; see also *ibid.*, 10, 17, 34, 98.

⁴⁴ Rufus C. Harris, "Idealism Emergent in Jurisprudence," *Tulane Law Review*, X (Feb. 1936), 169-87; Philip Mechem, "The Jurisprudence of Despair," *Iowa Law Review*, XXI (May 1936), 669-92; review of Robinson, *Law and the Lawyers*, *Cornell Law Quarterly*, XXII (Dec. 1936), 171-78; and review of Arnold, *Symbols of Government*, *Illinois Law Review*, XXXI (Nov. 1936), 411-18.

⁴⁵ Edgar Bodenheimer, *Jurisprudence* (New York, 1940), 316.

⁴⁶ Roscoe Pound, *Contemporary Juristic Theory* (Claremont, Calif., 1940), 9; see also *ibid.*, 1, 8-11.

⁴⁷ Lon L. Fuller, *The Law in Quest of Itself* (2d ed., Boston, 1966), 89, 122; see also *ibid.*, 4-6, 11, 64-65.

Though Pound and Fuller attacked realism vigorously, the most severe and extreme attacks came from a number of Catholic legal scholars who during the thirties helped to generate a resurgent Neo-Scholastic legal movement in the United States. Much of the impetus came from the work of the American Catholic Philosophical Association, which established a round table on philosophy and law at its meeting in 1933. In addition to sponsoring scholarly papers and monographs, the round table attempted to organize a unified jurisprudence among professors at all Christian church-related law schools in the country. Although relatively few non-Catholics expressed interest, the suggestion drew support from many Catholics who saw the situation as desperate.

As other critics had done, the Catholics pictured realism as ethical relativism undermining the foundations of democracy. Those who adhered to such doctrines as pragmatism and empiricism, as the realists did, declared Dean Clarence Manion of the Notre Dame University Law School, were betraying the American citizen and "preparing to sell him into slavery."⁴⁸ Such dire predictions exceeded those of most other critics, for many of the Catholics refused to qualify them in any way. They saw such a definite and direct causal connection between ethical relativism and totalitarianism that they seemed to believe in what has been called the autonomy of ideas. Disregarding such factors as economic structures and political institutions, they argued that the ideas associated with legal realism and ethical relativism, by themselves, would lead naturally and inevitably away from traditional democracy to a ruthless totalitarianism. "Godless Behaviorism and Pragmatism are the headhunters, with Democracy and popular sovereignty the victims," declared Father Francis E. Lucey, a regent of the Georgetown University School of Law. "Democracy *versus* the Absolute State means Natural Law *versus* Realism."⁴⁹

While the reaction against pragmatism and relativism was bitterest in the legal profession, the attack spread through all areas of American intellectual life. In the fields of history, philosophy, literature, and the social sciences many scholars began pointing to the dangerous implications of scientific relativism and condemning their colleagues who had embraced some form of it. By 1937 Walter Lippmann had completely rejected his earlier pragmatism and condemned the "aimless and turbulent moral relativity" of twentieth-century social thought.⁵⁰ Hans Kohn, Lewis Mumford, Reinhold Niebuhr, Thomas Mann, Alvin Johnson,

⁴⁸ Clarence Manion, "The American Metaphysics in Law," *Proceedings of the American Catholic Philosophical Association*, XVIII (1942), 133-34. For examples of the Catholic critique, see Miriam Theresa Rooney, "Law and the New Logic," *ibid.*, XVI (1940), 192-222; Brendan F. Brown, "Natural Law and the Law-Making Function in American Jurisprudence," *Notre Dame Lawyer*, XV (Nov. 1939), 9-25; Frederick J. deSloovere, "Natural Law and Current Sociological Jurisprudence," *Proceedings of the American Catholic Philosophical Association*, XVII (1941), 137-42; Dietrich von Hildebrand, "The Dethronement of Truth," *ibid.*, XVIII (1942), 3-16; and Paul L. Gregg, "The Pragmatism of Mr. Justice Holmes," *Georgetown Law Journal*, XXXI (Mar. 1943), 262-95.

⁴⁹ Francis E. Lucey, "Natural Law and American Legal Realism: Their Respective Contributions to a Theory of Law in a Democratic Society," *ibid.*, XXX (Apr. 1942), 526, 533.

⁵⁰ Walter Lippmann, *An Inquiry into the Principles of the Good Society* (Boston, 1937), 380.

and Van Wyck Brooks were among those who joined in blaming pragmatists and relativists for the desperate state of world affairs. "This recognition of guilt must pave the way, not to maudlin regrets," they declared in a united manifesto, "but to immediate atonement."⁵¹

Although the critics of legal realism undoubtedly believed that the new attitude directly threatened the existence of democracy, many of them were animated also by other social motives. Some critics, for example, were representatives of the wealthy groups that had violently opposed the New Deal since 1934 and correctly understood the devastating relevance of realism to their strained method of constitutional interpretation. One of the most extreme attacks, for example, came from a New York lawyer, Raoul E. Desvernine, who had been in charge of the Legal Division of the American Liberty League. When he charged in 1941 that realism was "radically subversive of the American way of life," few could have doubted that he had specifically in mind the realist argument for a more permissive constitutional attitude toward New Deal legislation.⁵² For those who already regarded the New Deal as protototalitarian there was no real distinction between attacking the Roosevelt administration and condemning legal realism as antidemocratic. Rather, the accepted fact of New Deal regimentation gave evidence to the charge against the legal attitude that defended and justified such regimentation.

There was a different ulterior motive behind the attacks of most of the Catholics, who politically were generally sympathetic to the New Deal. The intellectual attitudes they associated with legal realism denied their deepest articles of religious faith and emotional conviction. The Catholic faith in its fundamentals was indissolubly linked with a hierarchical institution that claimed ability to interpret an absolutely true moral law, based on the truths of revelation and reason. Realism and modern empiricism rejected those foundations, and the Catholics began their assault in defense, not just of their conception of democracy, but of their faith and their Church. Because of their religious and philosophical conviction that such attitudes were false and evil, they quickly identified them with the practice of totalitarianism, which was also false and evil. A number went so far as to identify American democratic ideas with their own Catholic philosophy. The "definite American philosophy of life," explained one typical writer, was "drawn directly from the Catholic philosophy of life."⁵³ Having long been considered not completely American, the Catholics were at last able to assert their legitimacy by defining themselves as the true descendants of the American Revolution, and at the same time discrediting their dangerous intellectual adversaries.⁵⁴

⁵¹ Hans Kohn *et al.*, *The City of Man: A Declaration on World Democracy* (New York, 1940), 19.

⁵² Raoul E. Desvernine, "Philosophy and Order in Law," *Proceedings of the American Catholic Philosophical Association*, XVII (1941), 135-36.

⁵³ William Franklin Sands, "What Is an American?" *Commonweal*, XXXIII (Feb. 21, 1941), 438.

⁵⁴ See also Moorehouse F. X. Millar, "The Origins of Sound Democratic Principles in Catholic

Whatever their motivations, the attacks had an effect. Much of the work of the realists had slighted the importance of ethical theory. Their philosophical assumptions had undermined the concept of a rational moral standard. Their ethical relativism seemed to many to mean that no Nazi barbarity could be justly branded as evil, while their identification of law with the actions of government officials gave even the most offensive Nazi edict the sanction of true law. Juxtaposing that logic to the actions of the totalitarian states, the critics had painted realism in the most ominous and shocking colors.

The damning charges forced the realists to assert their innocence. "I hope," declared Radin, "I have never said that ideas like wrong and right, or any ideas, are worthless or meaningless terms."⁵⁵ An empiricism that tried to predict actual decisions was "an *incomplete* way to see law," Llewellyn admitted in 1940, for "the heart and core of Jurisprudence" was the problem of ethical purpose in the law. "I for one," Llewellyn exclaimed, "am ready to do open penance for any part I may have played in giving occasion for the feeling that modern jurisprudes or any of them had ever lost sight of this."⁵⁶ Frank, Yntema, Patterson, and Felix Cohen all explicitly defended the realists against their critics, arguing that they had never denied an ethical goal in the law.⁵⁷ That defense was only partially relevant, however, since the fundamental question was actually whether the basic philosophical and methodological assumptions that characterized realism left any rational basis for affirming the legitimacy of an ethical goal.

Facing a barrage of criticism for his extreme views, Frank ultimately drew closer to the natural law school than any of the other realists. During the early forties he looked increasingly for the moral justification of democracy and seemed to find it in the Thomistic concept of natural law. By 1945 he was maintaining that most Americans refused to accept the concept of natural law only because of a confusion in terminology that gave them the wrong idea of its true meaning. "Most intelligent Americans, if the 'basic principles' of Scholastic natural law are described to them," he argued, "will find them completely acceptable."⁵⁸ Three

Tradition," *Catholic Historical Review*, XIV (Apr. 1928), 104-26, and "Scholastic Philosophy and American Political Theory," *Thought*, I (June 1936), 112-36; Raoul E. Desvernine, "The Creed of Americanism," *Notre Dame Lawyer*, XVII (Mar. 1942), 216-26; Robert I. Gannon, "What Are We Really Fighting?" *Fordham Law Review*, XI (Nov. 1942), 249-54; Goetz Briefs, "Philosophy of the Democratic State," *Proceedings of the American Catholic Philosophical Association*, XV (1939), 36-50; and Patrick J. Roche, *Democracy in the Light of Four Current Educational Philosophies* (Washington, D. C., 1942).

⁵⁵ Max Radin, "In Defense of an Unsystematic Science of Law," *Yale Law Journal*, LI (June 1942), 1275.

⁵⁶ Karl N. Llewellyn, "On Reading and Using the Newer Jurisprudence," *Columbia Law Review*, XL (Apr. 1940), 593, 603.

⁵⁷ Hessel E. Yntema, "Jurisprudence on Parade," *Michigan Law Review*, XXXIX (May 1941), 1164-65; Edwin W. Patterson, "Forward," in Edwin N. Garland, *Legal Realism and Justice* (New York, 1941), viii; Felix S. Cohen, "The Problems of a Functional Jurisprudence," *Modern Law Review*, I (June 1937), 24-25; Jerome Frank, *If Men Were Angels: Some Aspects of Government in a Democracy* (New York, 1942), Appendix v, esp. 297-300.

⁵⁸ Jerome Frank, *Fate and Freedom: A Philosophy for Free Americans* (New York, 1945), 295; see also *ibid.*, 98-99, 259-60.

years later he made his position clear and unequivocal: "I do not understand how any decent men today can refuse to adopt, as the basis of modern civilization, the fundamental principles of Natural Law, relative to human conduct, as stated by Thomas Aquinas."⁵⁹ Although Frank still called for empirical analysis of the legal system and insisted on the uncertainty and confusion in the application of principles, he had come a long way from the philosophical implications of *Law and the Modern Mind*.

Llewellyn, too, moved in the direction of natural law, though he stopped short of Frank's enthusiastic acceptance. Although he acknowledged a recent "debt" to Aquinas for the Schoolman's work on the philosophy of law, Llewellyn embraced neither Thomism nor the whole doctrine of natural law.⁶⁰ He accepted instead the general idea of a natural law, but translated it into a less precise and more intuitive concept. Natural law, he believed, was the name given for a universal human "urge" or "drive" for "right, or decency, or justice." Rather than being the opposite of legal empiricism as many had charged, Llewellyn declared, natural law was "an interesting and highly useful complement."⁶¹

While Llewellyn added a general concept of natural law to his legal theory and emphasized the importance of proper ethical ends in law, he remained true to his empiricism and retained a sharp skepticism concerning the powers of deductive logic. "When it comes to ultimate substance of the Good," he wrote early in 1942, "I repeat that I can find no clarity, or any conviction of reason, or of deduction as to specific matters, from the broad ultimates others have found clear." If pressed for an ultimate justification for democratic government, or for any values, he admitted, "I have no answer."⁶²

In spite of their early leadership, neither Llewellyn nor Frank was typical of the other realists in the move toward natural law. Radin perhaps best represented the others. Acknowledging that realism must place an added weight on ethical considerations, he declared that "the lawyer's task is ultimately concerned with justice" and emphasized that "any legal teaching that ignored justice had missed most of its point."⁶³ But even with the modification in his outlook, Radin remained a convinced empiricist with no use for abstract formulations. Justice or any other idea, he declared in 1940, "has no objective existence." Hence it existed only in the minds of men and was, therefore, only meaningful to the extent that actual men subscribed to it. In that case the concept of justice held by juridical officials was the source of a community's operative concept of justice. "In the last analysis," Radin argued, "justice must be a common denominator of what a specific group—the judges themselves—think is just."⁶⁴ "Objectified"

⁵⁹ *Id.*, "Preface to Sixth Printing," *Law and the Modern Mind*, xx.

⁶⁰ Karl N. Llewellyn, "On the Good, the True, the Beautiful, in Law," *University of Chicago Law Review*, IX (Feb. 1942), 247.

⁶¹ *Id.*, "One Realist's View of Natural Law for Judges," *Notre Dame Lawyer*, XV (Nov. 1939), 3, 8.

⁶² *Id.*, "On the Good, the True, the Beautiful, in Law," 264.

⁶³ Max Radin, "The Education of a Lawyer," *California Law Review*, XXV (Sept. 1937), 688.

⁶⁴ *Id.*, *Law as Logic and Experience* (New Haven, Conn., 1940), 156–58.

justice was real, fundamental, and essential, but it was necessarily a changing justice, wholly relative to the moral beliefs of the community in general and of the judges in particular.

Thus, while the realists modified their tone and protested their innocence, they did not, with the exception of Frank, give in to their critics on any fundamental point. They agreed that deduction was sterile in the field of values and claimed that their critics were as unable as they were to demonstrate conclusively the ultimate validity of any ethical ideals. Most would have agreed with Cook, who compared the advocates of deductive ethical systems to the infants in John Watson's experiments who exhibited "fear reaction" when they lost their sense of physical support. "They fear the loss of support of fixed principles which can be used automatically in cases of doubt," Cook charged, and hence they struck out wildly at those who pointed to the limits of human reason and suggested the true relativity to be found in reality.⁶⁵

As most of the realists lost little of their confidence in science, so too they lost little of their ability to retaliate. Pound's condemnation of realism in light of his own earlier work, Yntema charged, "bears a tragic aspect of schizologic aberration."⁶⁶ Fuller's legal theory, Patterson pointed out, was marred throughout by a pervasive ambiguity. "Surely the clarification of basic confusions does not hamper the exercise of the creative reason," he commented dryly.⁶⁷ Myres S. McDougal, a young professor at Yale University, accused Fuller of "preaching pseudo-inspirational sermons." The day would come, McDougal hoped, when lawyers could be trained as scientific scholars "and not as priests in outworn and meaningless faiths whether of 'law' or of 'ethics.'"⁶⁸ Fred Rodell, another of the younger realists, charged that all those legal thinkers who spoke in sacred terms of some abstract "Law" had been "taught in mental goose-step."⁶⁹ It was only appropriate to the spirit of much of the debate that Walter B. Kennedy, a leading Catholic scholar at Fordham University, returned the same charge in 1941 by calling realism a "goose-step philosophy."⁷⁰

By 1941 when America entered the Second World War, the bitter debate within the legal profession had reached its most intense phase, and it revealed a number of important facts about American thought in general and legal theory in particular. Most important, the debate demonstrated the depth of a basic split that divided two groups of American intellectuals who, for want of better terms, might be called scientific relativists and rational absolutists. On the one

⁶⁵ "Walter Wheeler Cook," in *My Philosophy of Law: Credos of Sixteen American Scholars* (Boston, 1941), 64.

⁶⁶ Yntema, "Jurisprudence on Parade," 1163.

⁶⁷ Review of Lon L. Fuller, *The Law in Quest of Itself*, *Iowa Law Review*, XXVI (Nov. 1940), 172-73.

⁶⁸ Myres S. McDougal, "Fuller v. the American Legal Realists: An Intervention," *Yale Law Journal*, L (Mar. 1941), 840.

⁶⁹ Fred Rodell, *Woe unto You, Lawyers!* (2d ed., New York, 1957), 149.

⁷⁰ "Walter B. Kennedy," in *My Philosophy of Law*, 151-52.

hand, the realists owed their inspiration and intellectual attitudes to a cluster of ideas associated with modern science. Truth was wholly dependent on empirically established facts and hypotheses, they agreed, and it was necessarily tentative and relative. On the other hand, the absolutists, such as Hutchins, Adler, and the Catholics, believed that human reason could discover certain universal principles of justice by analyzing philosophically the nature of reality. Deductive logic could demonstrate the truth of propositions and lead man to correct applications in settling particular, practical questions. The universal principles formed for the absolutists the basis for all ethical knowledge, which was demonstrably certain.

These two fundamentally irreconcilable attitudes were in large part responsible for the intensity and extremism in the debate. Since both sides started from widely divergent assumptions, they were often unable to understand, let alone sympathize with, their enemy's position. The realists saw rational absolutism as pointless and often subjected it to ridicule and scorn. Felix Cohen referred to it as "Transcendental Nonsense," while Arnold and Frank compared it to superstitious incantations chanted by witch doctors and faith healers. The rational absolutists returned the scorn in full, charging the realists with everything from atheism to Communism to nihilism. As the realists were often unable to understand how anyone could accept some of the canons of rational absolutism in light of the discoveries of modern science and philosophy, their critics were equally unable to see how any man could fail to accept that which was self-evident and necessary to give support to a universally valid ethical system. Such a system was necessary, they continually insisted, if men were to condemn totalitarianism rationally. With each side committed to its own obvious truths and faced with an implacable opponent, vilification and the questioning of motives became an almost automatic recourse. Those who would not see must have some hidden and unworthy purpose.

That deep division was also evident in the awkward positions taken by Pound, Fuller, Morris Cohen, and a number of other critics of realism. Such scholars knew the severe limitations of deductive logic and were committed to some form of legal empiricism. At the same time, however, they saw many of the theoretical problems realism created, and they agreed, when faced with the challenge of totalitarian ideology and practice, that some supralegal moral standard was necessary as the basis for ethical judgments. Torn between two conflicting attitudes, they tried desperately to reconcile them or to develop a coherent ethical position that would withstand the criticisms from both sides. Fuller's concept of natural law, for example, placed him distinctly outside the realist movement, but failed to bring him into any real philosophical agreement with the Thomists. It was too abstract for the one side and too positivistic for the other.

The long debate also clearly revealed the plight of ethical theory in the middle

of the twentieth century. The incisive criticisms of modern philosophy and the dramatic impact of experimental science had made rational absolutism untenable in the minds of most educated Americans. Many were ready to conclude that moral justification in any ultimate sense was an impossible and meaningless concept. "Having surrendered the quest for certainty," Cook insisted, quoting Dewey, "we can offer no guarantees."⁷¹ Though difficult to deny intellectually, that conclusion was dissatisfying to most Americans at the time when Nazism was perpetrating its outrages on both Germany and the rest of Europe.

The apparent success and spread of the totalitarian ideologies, backed by military might, exacerbated the internal division in American thought and placed the fundamental problem of the ethical basis of democracy into clear relief. The barbarity and repression evident in the various totalitarian countries enraged most American intellectuals. Feeling the deep need to condemn them in the clearest and strongest terms, they were forced to deal in some way with rationally based ethical judgments. That necessity created immense stress in the minds of many who either doubted the possibility of such judgments or found themselves unable to produce them. Some, like Becker and Malinowski, turned on much of their earlier work and argued that there were broad moral values that in fact did support the ideal of democracy and that showed equally that totalitarianism was evil. Others, such as Percy W. Bridgman and Stuart A. Rice, admitted that there was no ultimate ethical sanction for democracy and suggested only that human experience indicated that the great majority of men preferred it to Nazism. Most intellectuals finally had to ignore their doubts and the intellectual difficulties that plagued ethical theory and in the end simply assert the evil of totalitarianism and the relative goodness and desirability of democracy.

Although the Catholics in contrast expressed great certainty in the power of reason to discover ultimate principles, the debate revealed a defensive attitude on their part that at times reached extreme proportions. In spite of their fervent religious and intellectual convictions, they realized that they were fighting a battle against the ever-strengthening intellectual trends of the past three hundred years. Abstract rationalism simply could not stand against the combined forces of pragmatism, scientific empiricism, and modern critical philosophy. The vitriolic tone and extreme, unfounded accusations made against such movements as legal realism showed clearly the sense of intellectual frustration and institutional anxiety that underlay Catholic legal thought in the 1930's. The identification of realism and relativism with totalitarianism was the ground on which the Catholics hoped to make their belated victorious stand against the intellectual forces of the twentieth century. Though they had some limited success during the time of most severe intellectual crisis in the late thirties and early forties, their counterattack failed, and the Catholics themselves eventually modified some of their more strident positions.

⁷¹ "Walter Wheeler Cook," 64.

Finally, the debate suggested the course that American legal thinking would take in the years after the Second World War. While the idea of natural law grew somewhat in importance—and certainly proved useful for such purposes as trying war criminals—through the late forties and early fifties, it died down again and became mainly an isolated and parochial concept that enjoyed little support outside of a few Catholic law schools. Where it did have vitality it was made part of a broader empirical synthesis as in the work of F. S. C. Northrop. While ignoring some of its more extreme theoretical tendencies, the profession generally accepted many of the ideas associated with legal realism. That movement helped establish the importance of factual research in law, the necessity of empirical studies of the legal process, the legitimacy of a more flexible constitutional interpretation, and the acceptance of a pragmatic, operational concept of law. In spite of the problems the realists presented, both philosophically and legally, they were pointing toward the future by suggesting fruitful courses of study and more useful methods of analysis. The alliance the realists helped forge between legal theory and empirical analysis fortified the trend toward sociological jurisprudence that had begun forty years before and that was to become a commonly accepted part of American law in the years after the Second World War.

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Review Article

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History, Anthropology, and Mass Movements

GEORGE L. MOSSE

RACE, CULTURE, AND EVOLUTION: ESSAYS IN THE HISTORY OF ANTHROPOLOGY. By *George W. Stocking, Jr.* (New York: Free Press, 1968. Pp. xvii, 380. \$10.00.)
GESCHICHTE DER ANTHROPOLOGIE. By *Wilhelm E. Mühlmann.* (2d rev. ed.; Frankfurt am Main: Athenäum Verlag, 1968. Pp. 327. DM 19.80.)
THE RISE OF ANTHROPOLOGICAL THEORY: A HISTORY OF THEORIES OF CULTURE. By *Marvin Harris.* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1968. Pp. 806. \$16.50.)

WITHIN the last decade intellectual historians have attempted to rethink some of the fundamental assumptions upon which their discipline has been based. They no longer readily accept Arthur O. Lovejoy's definition of intellectual history as the "history of the human spirit"; they are uneasy with the assumption that ideas are autonomous, that the "reasoning spirit of philosophers" provides the key to the practice of intellectual history.¹ Lovejoy's approach to the discipline made intellectual history into the history of intellectuals, and such history tended to emphasize either the "principal thinkers of an epoch" or that "cluster of genius" that is said to have inspired the governing elites.²

While there should be room within intellectual history for this kind of history of ideas, the time has come to go beyond the study of such elitist groups to a more thorough investigation of popular practices and sentiments. In an age of mass politics and mass culture, the intellectual historian needs new approaches that take into account those popular notions that have played such a cardinal role in the evolution of men and society. Such an inquiry can result, to be sure, in a mechanical and boring catalogue of curious notions, and it could merely be concerned with what men do with their leisure time in the pursuit of pleasure, excitement, and beauty. But these are very narrow approaches to a subject that must attempt to fathom the minds of the majority of men at a given historical time in order to understand the nature and force of popular beliefs and predilections as expressed in politics and culture.

The "sociology of knowledge" has come to the rescue of many intellectual

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¹ Arthur O. Lovejoy, "Reflections on the History of Ideas," reprinted in *Ideas in Cultural Perspective*, ed. Philip P. Wiener and Aaron Noland (New Brunswick, N. J., 1962), 3-23.

² See John Higham, "Intellectual History and Its Neighbours," reprinted *ibid.*, 85.

historians who have been critical of the older approaches to the history of ideas. The assumption that all individuals are determined by, and therefore relative to, the nature of the social groups to which they belong can forge a link between intellectual history and social reality. But the sociology of knowledge assumes that men are the product of their social position and as a result has great difficulty in assimilating twentieth-century discoveries concerning the importance of men's unconscious drives and aspirations. The assumption of man's rationality underlies both the "sociology of knowledge" and Lovejoy's progression in the history of ideas.

In the analysis of popular culture or mass politics, the irrational seems to predominate, and the historian needs different tools to capture the structure of the popular mind. Here anthropology can be of great help, for not only have anthropologists concerned themselves with the analysis of folkways and community customs, but their use of myths and symbols can provide useful ways to penetrate the mind of modern as well as primitive man. The philosopher Ernst Cassirer applied such concepts to the study of cultural history. He believed that men comprehend the reality within which they live through the mediation of symbolic systems such as language, religion, and learning. Myth is human emotion turned into an image, which becomes objectified mainly through language, so Cassirer thought.³ Cassirer applied his insight, however, to a kind of intellectual history that he conceived as a series of philosophical systems; he was not primarily concerned with popular culture or mass movements. Yet his conception of how men mediate between their own minds and reality is useful at all levels of historical analysis. Myths and symbols can be analyzed historically because the human mind works within definable categories of cognition. Cassirer shared with anthropologists the presupposition that all freedom of action is checked by the recognition of certain objective, inner limitations upon the reaches of the human mind.

This assumption becomes all important when one uses myth and symbol for an understanding of the human mind and the society within which it has to work. George W. Stocking, Jr., in his excellent discussion of Edward Tyler and Franz Boas, two pioneers of anthropology, shows that both these men related their concept of symbolic forms to a definite and presupposed definition of culture. Whether culture was related to the idea of inevitable progress (Tyler) or to humanistic values (Boas), it provided the key for an arrangement and assessment of myths and symbolic expressions. Stocking sees such preconceptions as determining the anthropological re-creation of patterns within the individual human mind. To be sure, every historian comes to his task with certain hypotheses already formulated, and Stocking's book demonstrates how even the

³ See Ernst Cassirer, *The Myth of the State* (New Haven, Conn., 1946), esp. Pt. 1, 43.

analysis of the primitive mind is dependent upon the *Zeitgeist* within which the anthropologist works.

Wilhelm E. Mühlmann, writing in 1948, treated the whole history of anthropology as part of the evolution of philosophy. Arthur Schopenhauer, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Edmund Husserl, among others, have determined the way in which anthropologists sought entry into the primitive mind through an analysis of myths and symbols. Mühlmann himself belongs to the German idealist school and thus deplores the failure of anthropologists to account for the great and unusual personality. He implies that such personalities created the value systems out of which myths and symbols grew. If, as he asserts, it is impossible to divide philosophical and empirical inquiry, and if the philosophical systems are primary, then the intellectual historian would do best to return to the older methods of the history of ideas that Lovejoy advocated.

The relationship between the *Zeitgeist* and the human mind, however, need not be as idealistic as Mühlmann believes. Empirical research was of the greatest importance to men like Tyler and Boas, even if they came to it from presuppositions about culture common to their times. Marvin Harris in his *Rise of Anthropological Theory* demonstrates in spite of himself how a purely empirical, "scientific" approach to myth and symbols can lead to less tenable assumptions about the relation of man to his world. His book is designed to advocate the principle of technoenvironmental and technoeconomic determinism. "It holds that similar technologies applied to similar environments tend to produce similar arrangements of labor in production and distribution, and that these, in turn, call forth similar kinds of social groupings, which justify and coordinate their activities by means of similar systems of values and beliefs."⁴ Material conditions are primary, and, once these have been investigated scientifically, value systems become irrelevant.

Harris' research strategy is contrasted with the history of anthropology, which, from his viewpoint, is loaded with theoretical bias. He criticizes colleagues like Margaret Mead for attempting to get "inside of heads" without any of the quantitative, statistical research that his own strategy calls for. Indeed, Harris condemns all attempts to fathom the primitive mind; such attempts are bound to lead to an idealism close to philosophy or theology but far removed from science. The nearly seven hundred pages of text in Harris' book are a violent criticism of anthropologists who have attempted to analyze the human mind by injecting their own value systems into their research. Such a condemnation is not difficult to make, and, by using historical analysis instead of polemics, Stocking is more successful than Harris. It is curious that Harris believes that his "cultural materialism" can ignore all theoretical bias, as well as the *Zeitgeist*. By finding statistical correspondences between different cultures and by using empirical data

⁴ Harris' own summary of his concepts is in *Current Anthropology*, IX (Dec. 1968), 520.

concerning environmental factors and social arrangements, Harris explains both individual and group motivations. His point of view is close to a crude form of sociology of knowledge. If it is true that one's point of view is always a product of one's social position, then an empirical analysis of social data suffices as a causal explanation. But such an approach ignores a century of psychological research.

Both the sociologists of knowledge and Harris claim Karl Marx as their father. The former do so with more reason, if only because the more sophisticated believe in an interplay between the make-up of the individual and his environment. Harris attempts to disentangle Marx from G. W. F. Hegel, because for him Hegel is an idealist and the dialectic is a mystical numerical system close to the Jewish cabala. Let us grant that, even if Harris knows little of either Hegel or the cabala, it is true that a disembodied dialectic can lead to arguments about the workings of history that escape into an idealism and have little basis in fact. But Marx himself did fuse the dialectic with "objective conditions" and consequently believed that according to his own researches it provided a valid historical theory.

Harris professes to accept Marx's research strategy; indeed he accuses others of reacting against Marxism in their theoretical bias. But what Harris calls Marx's research strategy is merely an environmentalism and emphasis upon social arrangements. He ignores Marx's key emphasis upon human consciousness as well as his intellectual presuppositions about the rational potential of man. At the very time when scholarship is re-emphasizing the close connection between Marxism and philosophy, Harris presents us with a caricature of Marx. Anthropologists are reacting not against Marx at all, but rather against the kind of materialist determinism that Harris advocates. If measuring instruments would do the job, there would be little need for the complexities of historical investigation, and we could all be grateful to Harris' work. It is unfortunate that he himself not only assumes the validity of cultural materialism as tending toward a complete causal explanation, but beyond this, he assumes that the "phenomena to be studied are related in an orderly fashion." He fears chaos (here he may well be a child of his own *Zeitgeist*) and believes that his "scientific approach" will lead to the formulation of orderly laws of behavior. Such a search presumes once more that all human activity is governed by a strictly limited number of universal laws that can be discovered. For all of Harris' attacks upon other anthropologists, he also has his presuppositions to which he relates his analyses of myths and symbols.

Harris' research strategy is of small value to contemporary historians. It is close to the nineteenth-century tradition of Henry Thomas Buckle. Search for a value-free scientific approach will not advance the study of history greatly; it seems archaic in the context of modern historiography. This is not to deny its usefulness as part of the picture, but it is sterile as a causal explanation or as a valid analysis of all human motivation. Historians can no longer share Tyler's optimism or Boas' deep belief in a humanistic culture. Studies of mass movements and mass culture have not borne out such presuppositions.

Another anthropologist, Claude Lévi-Strauss, may have greater relevance. For Harris, Lévi-Strauss is merely another dialectician who attempts to get into people's heads. Lévi-Strauss posits, in fact, an interplay between psychological attitudes and social functions. The great manifestations of society originate at the level of unconscious existence. Many historians will recognize the truth of his assertion that there is bound to be a discrepancy between the working of the human mind and empirical reality. This fundamental statement challenges Harris' whole approach to man and society. Empirical data are necessary for Lévi-Strauss, but by themselves they cannot provide an explanation of causes. The human mind imposes form upon content, and therefore it is the structure of the human mind that must concern us.

Of course, Lévi-Strauss also has his preconceptions. He believes that men build systems and that these systems can be contained within a relatively small number of laws. Thus the relationships between men and systems become all important and lead to the discovery of "cosmic rhythms" from which a model of society can be built. Myths and symbols express these relationships, a "natural rhythm" that applies to primitive as well as to modern society.⁵ But how can anyone get into people's heads in order to bring to light the relationship between the human mind and the social system? Here Lévi-Strauss turns to linguistics, the structure of language, as it expresses itself in myths and symbols. Such an approach assumes a rational mental structure and through linguistic analysis seeks to clarify it.

Lévi-Strauss may not point the way out to historians trying to cope with the phenomena of popular and mass movements, but he does seem to come closer to posing the problem than other anthropologists. He attempts to deal with the role of the human mind in forming and reacting to social systems, and he advocates a specific research strategy. Lévi-Strauss recognizes the necessity of investigating the relationship between the unconscious working of man's mind and the reality of the social system. Language may indeed be a useful bridge between the mind and the system, though the statement that "myth is language" must be broadened to take in visual means of communication as well.⁶ Lévi-Strauss presents a more subtle analysis than either Harris' materialism or the idealism of Mühlmann's approach. But he also feels the pull toward anthropology as a science and consequently ignores the human emotions which for him can never become causes. Historians may be disturbed by his presuppositions of human rationality that underlie his explanation of the meaning of myth and symbol, but since they must make sense out of the often irrational acts of men, they must form them into an explainable pattern and frequently assume a rationality even for the irrational.

Historians may also hesitate before they draw such close connections between

⁵ Claude Lévi-Strauss, *Structural Anthropology* (New York, 1967), 21ff., and *Tristes Tropiques* (New York, 1963), 126-27. For a good discussion of Lévi-Strauss, see H. Stuart Hughes, *The Obstructed Path* (New York, 1968), 264-90.

⁶ Claude Lévi-Strauss, "The Structural Study of Myth," in *Myth: A Symposium*, ed. Thomas A. Sebeok (Bloomington, Ind., 1965), 84.

primitive and modern man, but this connection does not have to consist in the similarity of the actual contents of myths and symbols. It may, rather, consist in the similarity of human wishes and aspirations, reactions and frustrations. The myths and symbols that modern mass movements use in order to manipulate their followers badly need historical investigation *as* myths and symbols. Throughout the centuries these myths and symbols have a sameness that cannot be ignored. Studies of popular literature have brought this to light. Totalitarian movements (and indeed most modern mass movements) "imposed" themselves upon their people by using familiar and basic myths and symbols. These found expression within the literature of the movement and in its liturgy as well, in festivals, mass meetings, and symbolic representations such as national monuments.⁷ Here indeed the great manifestations of society originate at the level of the unconscious, as Lévi-Strauss believes. Conscious and unconscious wishes, desires, and frustrations are manipulated in order to produce adherence to the political movement.

Historians have only arrived at the threshold of such investigations. They are important without denying the essential role played by the social and political situation. Without the right conditions, the appeal of the proper myths and symbols cannot be activated in a meaningful manner. But historical analyses of the myths and symbols used by such movements are essential, and neither the history of ideas nor the sociology of knowledge will suffice any longer for the intellectual historian. Anthropology can be helpful; at least one must be familiar with its methods. In one sense, to be sure, the historian investigating mass phenomena is in the same position as the historian in any other field of study: he analyzes his source material, puts forth his hypotheses, and tries to approximate historical reality. He uses a quantitative method where it is appropriate, but never as a total explanation of causality. Such a historian will have to deal with oral traditions, but here the common-sense guidelines of Jan Vansina apply. He holds that a knowledge of traditions is essential for an interpretation of popular oral (and one might add visual) material.⁸ But this should present no difficulty to the historian, and it can apply both to modern and primitive subjects.

Beyond these considerations the intellectual historian interested in popular culture or mass movements is confronted with the necessity of fathoming the complexity of the human mind in its interplay with the other factors that make up historical reality. He must draw general conclusions as to how the unconscious mind penetrates reality. It is here that the existence of myths and symbols can provide an entering wedge and keep him from sliding into an idealistic or materialistic posture. This presents an approach that can no longer be ignored if intellectual history is to advance beyond the history of intellectuals.

⁷ See the pioneer study by Thomas Nipperdey, "Nationalidee und Nationaldenkmal in Deutschland im 19. Jahrhundert," *Historische Zeitschrift*, CCVI (June 1968), 529-85.

⁸ Jan Vansina, *Oral Tradition: A Study in Historical Methodology* (Chicago, 1965).

* * * * *Reviews of Books* * * * *

General

THE GLOBAL CITY: FREEDOM, POWER, AND NECESSITY IN THE AGE OF WORLD REVOLUTIONS. By *Theodore H. Von Laue*. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1969. Pp. xv, 302. \$6.95.)

SOCIAL CHANGE AND HISTORY: ASPECTS OF THE WESTERN THEORY OF DEVELOPMENT. By *Robert A. Nisbet*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. x, 335. \$6.75.)

MAKING no effort to disarm criticism, Theodore Von Laue begins by boldly announcing that he is taking up the biggest questions of our day, a whole world in crisis, without any pretense of being scientific or wholly objective. He believes that historians have no higher challenge than trying "to scan the entire horizon of the present age" so as "to assess the place of their own generation in the flow of universal history." Specifically, his subject is "the Age of Global Confluence"—the terrific impact of Western civilization on the rest of the world, by which it has in turn been profoundly affected, and everywhere the conflict between the forces of global community and cultural particularism.

Although he writes that "there has evolved as yet no distinct historical awareness of the nature of this epoch," Von Laue's thesis is basically familiar. His "Global Confluence" is the "One World" we hear so much about. No less familiar are the major developments in the West that he studies, such as the rise of industrialism and mass democracy, the problems of freedom, compulsion, and alienation, and all the "crises" these have engendered at home, the problems for the rest of the world.

Nevertheless his book is refreshing, in particular because of his consistent good sense as well as breadth and good will—qualities not too common in a positivistic age. Thus he takes a broad view of "power," including the power of culture, the "spiritual" drive that made the ostensibly materialistic West the most subversive and revolutionary force in history, and that now most effectively enables it to dominate other countries even when they are politically independent. There can be no easy answers, such as peaceful coexistence, because all countries try to maintain their cultural independence, resisting the obligations imposed by the global confluence.

Von Laue is especially good on the tremendous problems confronting America, which refuses to face them. While he suggests a few tentative solutions, he emphasizes all the reasons why we cannot hope for satisfactory solutions for a long time. Much of his book seems to me profoundly pessimistic, but so much the better for a people still given to the illusion that they can play whatever role they see fit. The same is true concerning his emphasis that the issues are ultimately moral.

One of his cheerful observations, that if there is one absolute in the history of the West, "it is the irreversible advance toward the peaceful and orderly coordination of human wills in ever larger and more populous associations," provides an introduction to Robert Nisbet's *Social Change and History*. This is a study of the idea of development or "natural" growth that has dominated Western thought about society and

history ever since the ancient Greeks, as in both theories of cycles and of progress. Nisbet does try to disarm criticism by declaring that, except possibly for his concluding chapter, he is aware of nothing novel in his book. Indeed, he did his best to avoid such novelty, for he wanted each chapter "to correspond as closely as possible with the accepted understandings of modern scholarship."

Actually, his historical study is by no means as conventional as this implies. He selects from the understandings of modern scholars, usually preferring the more highly debatable ones. I would question, for example, that the Greeks had such a passion for change as he attributes to them, and I think he tends to minimize the novelty of the modern idea of progress, which he describes as "but a modification" of the old ideas of development. But this is also to say that his book is provocative. And he clearly establishes his main thesis, that the idea of social growth is strictly a metaphor (we never see a society grow or die), but that, even so, it has been "inseparable from some of the profoundest currents in Western thought on society and change" and principles drawn from it often remain intact and relevant long after their source has been forgotten. Though a sociologist, Nisbet is widely read in history too.

His long concluding chapter on the uses, abuses, and irrelevance of metaphor is especially pertinent for historians. Not a positivist, he freely grants the necessity of metaphor as a means of synthesis. Trouble arises when it is taken literally, at the expense of concrete data and empirical problems of change. Nisbet insists that the assumption of an inner necessity in patterns of change, or of the "naturalness" of change, falsifies the realities of social behavior or, in particular, what seems to him the more natural, fundamental tendency to persistence or fixity, because of which change is due more to external or adventitious factors and is not clearly continuous, directional, or necessary. I think he swings too far toward a myopic kind of empiricism or behavioralism and slights the basic trends that have become more marked with the rise of modern technology. But he at least offers a sound warning against the still-common and illustrious tendency to draw generalizations more from metaphor and analogy than from empirical data.

Indiana University

HERBERT J. MULLER

GOVERNING ELITES: STUDIES IN TRAINING AND SELECTION. Edited by *Rupert Wilkinson*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. xviii, 231. \$6.50.)

HISTORIANS interested in being either a little more analytical in their own work or a little more systematically comparative will find this book an excellent model. It consists of an editor's introduction and eight scholarly essays on the training and selection of governing elites, a topic on which the editor, Rupert Wilkinson, an Englishman trained at Harvard, has previously made a contribution in his two books, *Gentlemanly Power: British Leadership and the Public School Tradition* (1964) and *Winchester and the Public School Elite* (with T. J. H. Bishop, 1967).

The wide range of analytical and comparative reference in the essays can best be suggested, in a brief review, by listing their titles: Henry Selby, "Elite Selection and Social Integration: An Anthropologist's View"; Robert R. Bolgar, "The Training of Elites in Greek Education"; Vernon J. Parry, "Elite Elements in the Ottoman Empire"; Michalina Vaughn, "The *Grandes Écoles*"; Yoshinori Ide and Takeshi Ishida, "The Education and Recruitment of Governing Elites in Modern Japan"; Josselyn Hennessy,

"British Education for an Elite in India (1780-1947)"; Correlli Barnett, "The Education of Military Elites"; and Wilkinson, "Elites and Effectiveness."

Almost all of these essays have a freshness of style, of substance (new historical materials are presented), and of point of view (established historical interpretations are challenged). This multiform freshness is perhaps most evident in Hennessy's essay on India. Most of the essays point out both the dysfunctions and the functions of the particular systems of elite training and selection they describe. In some cases this means redressing the balance from the established view by showing that there were dysfunctions as well as functions. In Hennessy's essay the opposite is true. He challenges established opinion by showing the contributions that British training of Indians made to effective elite functioning in independent India. This concern for both functions and dysfunctions is taken up at the most general and analytical level in Wilkinson's brief but valuable concluding essay where he discusses "four broad advantages" and three "chief liabilities" that specialized systems of elite selection and training have for the eventual effective functioning of those elites. He further indicates how difficult it is in any particular case to establish a balance between these advantages and liabilities, or functions and dysfunctions. And he concludes with a cautiously stated empirical generalization: "In advance of more empirical study, it is safe to suggest that a very high degree of educational élitism—that is, a very special training and group feeling imparted to nearly all the future public leaders—tends to serve government and society badly in an advanced industrial society marked by rapid technical change. But some degree and form of élitism may be useful in these conditions."

Further studies addressed to the questions raised in this book and meeting its excellent historical standards would contribute not only to the particular society or period studied but to a general understanding of the selection, training, and effectiveness of governing elites. Wilkinson has shown one good way to do what has variously been called sociological history and historical sociology. Many will consider it just plain good history.

Barnard College

BERNARD BARBER

THIRD INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF ECONOMIC HISTORY:
MUNICH, 1965. Volume I. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e
Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Congrès et colloques, Number 10.]
(Paris: Mouton & Co. 1968. Pp. 826.)

WHAT a striking tribute the economic historians have paid in this huge volume to the affluence of our Western society in the 1960's! This first of five volumes exceeds eight hundred pages. Of its seventy essays, fifty are in English or French; the others in German, Italian, or Spanish. The authors represent seventeen nationalities. Theirs has been a nearly ecumenical enterprise. Their reports were delivered in Munich, organized for publication by Professor Bergier of Geneva, subsidized by the Bavarian state, the French national research center, and UNESCO, published by the French-Dutch firm of Mouton, and printed almost faultlessly, in spite of their polyglot character, by the *Imprimerie Nationale* in Paris. Gone are the worn type and the coarse gray-yellow paper too often used even for French masterpieces in the 1920's. Here the handsome type face leaps brilliantly from the clear white background promising long life even with much use in our academic libraries.

Questions raised by economic growth and particularly by the initiation of such growth (take-off) have fascinated the present generation of economists. They have quite

properly called upon historians for help in providing data to aid their search for answers. Simon Kuznets renews this call in the opening essay of this collection. Unfortunately his summons is expressed in such terms as "capital formation proportions" and "incremental capital-output ratios." He writes English when he wishes, and it is vigorous English, but, when he writes "economese," though terse, it is dense, requiring a glossary at hand. It is doubtful that historians will understand and accept the invitation. Indeed, the editors regretted the need to omit an account of the "discussion nourrie" aroused by the report. Our craft will ignore the challenge at its peril, however. We are asked merely to reconsider old problems in new perspectives and with new emphases. Something of the enthusiasm stimulated in recent years by historical demography may be shared by our colleagues who accept Kuznets' invitation.

The sixty-nine essays that follow are grouped under five rubrics: feeding of large cities—medieval to modern times (nine articles); formation of industrial working classes (ten articles); social distribution of property (twelve articles, totaling nearly one-third of the book); salaries and the economy (ten articles); interaction of fiscal and economic policy (twenty-eight short articles). Footnotes accompany perhaps half of the articles. Some that appear without footnotes have been published elsewhere *in extenso* since 1965. The longest paper, Fischer and Czada's "Social Distribution of Personal Property in Germany since the Late Middle Ages," is equipped with a thirteen-page bibliography.

One paper perhaps in danger of being overlooked in this context is Professor Ashtor's "Salaries in the Medieval Near East," a revealing commentary on Muslim society based on sources little known in the West. On our side of the ocean Paul Gates has produced a small miracle covering, in less than twenty pages, the history of landownership in the United States. Only the long-time master in the field could have succeeded in this almost impossible task.

The remaining volumes are expected shortly. Volume II will treat agriculture; Volume III, classical antiquity; Volume IV, demography; Volume V, those subjects less fully covered, including the report on agrarian aspects made at the closing plenary session of the conference.

University of Vermont

PAUL D. EVANS

STUDIES IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY: PAPERS PRESENTED AT
THE DAVID NICHOL SMITH MEMORIAL SEMINAR, CANBERRA 1966.

Edited by R. F. Brissenden. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968. Pp. xviii, 327. \$12.50.)

As its title indicates, this work concerns the period to which David Nichol Smith devoted his greatest energy. The occasion memorialized was the arrival of his personal library in Canberra, where it now forms a valuable part of the National Library of Australia. Admirably edited by R. F. Brissenden of the Australian National University, this book contains seventeen essays by scholars from the United States and Canada, the United Kingdom, New Zealand, and Australia. The first of these is an appreciative account of Nichol Smith's scholarly standards and accomplishments, by the late Herbert Davis; those remaining cover a broad range of topics.

The majority of the contributions are concerned primarily with literature. Seven examine large issues, social, cultural, or otherwise: Franklin L. Ford writes on the problem of defining the Enlightenment and offers his own redefinition; R. M. Wiles on the growth of literacy in the eighteenth century; Ian Watt on historical aspects of

the Augustan tradition; O. H. K. Spate on poets who took up the cause of commercial expansion; S. A. Grave on the philosophical use of the notion of happiness with regard to standards of virtue and conduct; Ralph Cohen on the "Augustan mode" in English poetry; J. H. Tisch on Milton's reception and influence in eighteenth-century Germany; Joseph Burke, on the contribution of the grand tour to both the strengthening and the undermining of the rule of taste. There are three papers on Johnson, Nichol Smith's favorite: R. S. Wolper on Johnson and the drama; John Hardy on the city versus country theme in Johnson's *London*, particularly as it relates to his probable political intentions; M. N. Austin on Johnson's classical learning. Brissenden writes on the word "sentiment" in the work of Hume; Arthur Cash on Sterne's satirical use of contemporary obstetrical knowledge in *Tristram Shandy*; C. J. Horne on fable in Swift's poetry; A. D. Hope on Christopher Smart's theory of the universal system. W. J. Cameron surveys the development of eighteenth-century studies in the British Commonwealth. Illustrations accompany two articles, those by Cash and Burke, and there is a list of writings by and about Nichol Smith.

Perhaps of greatest interest to the nonliterary specialist are the papers by Ford, Wiles, Watt, Grave, and Burke. Wiles's case for increased literacy in the century rests upon two solid sources of evidence: the number books (those published in weekly, fortnightly, or monthly parts) and the newspapers, especially the local papers. Watt's exposition of the interrelationships of the values of the landed interest and of Augustan literature takes him into difficult, at times doubtful, but always exciting areas. Burke's examination of the distinctive manifestations of classical influence—revision, reproduction, and quotation (in the sense of borrowing)—stimulated by the grand tour is gracefully and authoritatively presented.

More often than not, collections of this sort may be termed successful if they contain a few pieces that say something new. To me, the present collection more than meets the test, and, except for some one or two instances, nicely demonstrates how very thin is the line that separates the work of historians, literary or otherwise.

Columbia University

JOHN H. MIDDENDORF

THE TRANSATLANTIC PERSUASION: THE LIBERAL-DEMOCRATIC MIND IN THE AGE OF GLADSTONE. By *Robert Kelley*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1969. Pp. xxiii, 433, xii. \$8.95.)

ROBERT Kelley seized on a grand idea when he undertook a study of what he calls the "Liberal-Democratic Mind" of the later nineteenth century in Great Britain, the United States, and Canada. Nearly a century earlier three speakers had principally voiced what would become "The Inherited World View" on which that mind built its edifice: Adam Smith, Edmund Burke, and Thomas Jefferson. In due course, William Gladstone, two Americans, Samuel Tilden and Grover Cleveland, and two Canadians, George Brown and Alexander Mackenzie, each a national leader, applied in political action or program the convictions that tell us what "Liberal-Democracy" amounted to.

Of course no great body of theory, no "meaningful frame of reference or motivating social vision" (as Kelley phrases the problem) seemed at the time to unify those five leaders and their colleagues. Even Jefferson, though his hopes for the future combined broad suffrage, civil rights, education, and economic security for all, with freedom for slaves and considerable leveling for privileged classes and institutions, never became altogether candid in stating the full reach of his belief in democracy. Indeed, until today no American, Englishman, or Canadian has ever

amply spelled out a theoretical system of what democratic values would logically seem to require. The quickest way to perceive what Liberal-Democrats believed in, the author tells us, is by identifying their common enemy, which was entrenched privilege: privilege in landed wealth or in government-protected business, privilege in power, and privilege in ecclesiastical, educational, or social establishments. Different as the five leaders were, and different as were their countries, their determination to wear down privilege unites them in this story.

While it is a familiar operation of historiography to find in Puritan Congregationalist Calvinism strong roots of self-government and even democracy, and to recognize some connection between American federalism and Presbyterian polity, there is a certain freshness in learning from Kelley that latter-day Presbyterian Calvinism, or, as in the case of Gladstone, evangelical Anglicanism, supplied a principal footing for Liberal-Democracy. Such religious support regularly helped the movement to favor minority cultural or ethnic groups. With the now-glaring exception of American blacks—toward whom Tilden was especially reactionary—Liberal-Democrats, aligning themselves with the Irish (in the case of Gladstone), with such American immigrant groups as the Germans (in the case of Cleveland), or with the cause of educational pluralism (in the case of Brown), contributed overall to variety within their national cultures. Altogether, the democratic component in Liberal-Democracy proves to have been of more assistance to the equality of peoples, white ones, than assistance to the equality of people; the liberal component was more emphatic than the democratic one.

The question has to be raised: has Kelley overpressed his thesis? I think that he has done so in the nomenclature of his work, but not in the substance. Thus he persuades me that Cleveland was more of a moralist than I had known and that Tilden was more scholarly. But to designate the rejected candidate of 1876 as a “social scientist,” and the two-term President as a “social moralist,” is less convincing. While the grandeur and sweep of both Jefferson and Gladstone in the ultimate service of democracy becomes uncommonly clear in these pages, the characterization of Gladstone as Britain’s own Jefferson does not seem quite fitting. But as to the substance, *The Transatlantic Persuasion* is splendid, and the story is brightened by more than flashes of brilliance of exposition.

Johns Hopkins University

CHARLES A. BARKER

NATIONALISM & SOCIALISM: MARXIST AND LABOR THEORIES OF NATIONALISM TO 1917. By *Horace B. Davis*. (New York: Monthly Review Press. 1967. Pp. xiv, 258. \$7.50.)

DR. Davis has undertaken an important and enormously difficult task: a comprehensive study of the relationship between nationalism and socialism. The very scope of the enterprise, carried out with a conscientious regard to coverage, must lead to some disappointment. It is hardly possible in about two hundred pages of text to do justice to the major figures of socialism, to its lesser thinkers and practitioners in Europe and the United States, and also to deal (besides nationalism) with such related issues as imperialism, colonialism, militarism, and the nationality question.

The treatment of Marx and Engels is the best part of the book. To prove that Marxism had, by 1917, developed a sound theory of nationalism and nationality problems is a major aim of the work, as is the defense of Marx and Engels against charges of racism and chauvinism. The author, following Solomon Bloom’s *World of Nations*,

is successful in the latter, but does not make a convincing case for the former. Above all, he does not come to grips with a central problem of Marxism that both Bakunin and Machajski perceived: if class struggle was in the first instance a national struggle, the socialists, and more particularly their leaders, would be the rulers of a national state and, as such, the legatees of national interests. What would happen to proletarian internationalism then? Even by 1917 the question could no longer be answered by references to the withering away of the state or to proletarian and benign forms of nationalism. It required a more searching examination of the modern state—its nature, its foreign and domestic politics, the problems of running it—than most socialists, with the possible exception of a few anarchists, attempted. When he points to the Czech “transition to socialism” of 1948 and to Soviet nationalism in World War II as proof that socialism and nationalism need not be incompatible and that nationalism can be used in a good cause, Davis demonstrates that this is still true.

University of California, Los Angeles

HANS ROGGER

THE UNROMANTICS: THE GREAT POWERS AND THE BALFOUR DECLARATION. By *Jon Kimche*. With a preface by *Lord Sieff*. [Published under the auspices of the Anglo-Israel Association.] (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson. 1968. Pp. xiii, 87. 25s.)

THE immensely complex origins and background of the Balfour Declaration of 1917 cannot be treated adequately in a work as brief as *The Unromantics*, which was written to commemorate the fiftieth anniversary of the Foreign Secretary's pronouncement that the British government favored the establishment of a Jewish national home in Palestine. Quite properly, therefore, the work concentrates upon placing the declaration firmly in the context of the Allied military and political crisis of 1916–1917.

Mr. Kimche is wrong, however, in asserting that the government never contemplated using the Zionist movement to liquidate the Sykes-Picot Agreement after the war, when the occupation of Palestine would, it was hoped, be a *fait accompli*. In fact, the significance of a British-controlled Zionist Palestine in the postwar Middle East swayed Milner and Sykes as much as the immediate strategic need to break the stalemate in the West, or the propaganda advantages of underwriting Zionism. Otherwise, Kimche's conclusions are generally sound, and *The Unromantics* provides a useful and interesting résumé of events culminating in the momentous declaration.

Vassar College

BERNARD GAINER

VOINA BEZ RISK: DEISTVIA ANGLO-AMERIKANSKIKH VOISK V ITALII V 1943–1945 GODAKH [The War without Risks: The Operations of the Anglo-American Army in Italy, 1943–1945]. By *V. S. Strel'nikov* and *N. M. Cherepanov*. (Moscow: Voennoe Izdatel'stvo Ministerstva Oborony SSSR. 1965. Pp. 278.)

THIS book discusses, in relative detail, the Allied campaign in Italy from the landing in Sicily in July 1943 to the German surrender in May 1945. The title is an obvious ironic allusion to General Clark's book *Calculated Risk*. According to the authors, Clark misrepresented the nature and accomplishments of the campaign in Italy, as, in varying degrees, did Prime Minister Churchill and Generals Montgomery, Alexander, and Marshall. Strel'nikov and Cherepanov base their conclusions on the works by Professor Morison, the official histories of the war done by the United States, and on

such sources as Ehrman, Görlitz, Halder, Kesselring, Rintelen, Westphal, U. Massola, Fuller, and Liddell Hart. The writings of the resistance leaders, especially those of Communist authors, are frequently cited, the latter with obvious approval. Strel'nikov and Cherepanov also profess to have consulted archival material besides the obligatory use of the "Marxist-Leninist classics," but there are no visible results. The authors note with regret the paucity of works in Russian on the Italian campaign. The book is liberally provided with maps and charts, and it has a brief bibliography but no index.

The authors find that the ambitious claims made for the Italian campaign, particularly, by Clark and Montgomery, are "contradicted by the historical facts." Bourgeois historians in general, they affirm, have "falsified" the real nature of the war in Italy. The military operations there were a "logical continuation of the policy of the reactionary ruling circles of the United States and England to delay the opening of the second front" and to establish in Italy a reactionary regime subservient to them. Far from proving that the Allies took risks, the facts show that all the decisions made in the course of the war were aimed at avoiding the "slightest risk," especially when the operations involved losses, even though this policy tended to prolong the war. The authors of this work also point out that numerous favorable opportunities were not utilized because the Anglo-Americans lacked the will to pursue their objectives, despite an ever-present superiority in personnel, in naval forces, and, above all, in aviation. In addition, morale was low among the Italians, and the Germans had insufficient men and matériel. Dilatoriness and indecision characterized all of the operations of the Italian campaign.

As one would expect, much is made of the activities of the partisans whose number is placed between 100,000 and 150,000. Although they rendered "inestimable service" to the Allied forces, the Anglo-Americans "not only failed to support them but sought in every way to hinder them." The Russians, it is asserted, did not benefit greatly from operations in Italy because the procrastination of the Allies enabled the Germans to occupy easily defensible positions that required a minimum of military force. The Anglo-American "occupiers" are accused of having robbed Italy, destroyed its natural wealth, cut down its forests, and denuded its plants and wharves, and, moreover, it is claimed that the "occupation" of Italy by the United States Navy continues to the present moment.

New York Institute of Technology

ISAAC STONE

PUBLIC PAPERS OF THE SECRETARIES-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS. Volume I, TRYGVE LIE, 1946-1953. Selected and edited with commentary by *Andrew W. Cordier* and *Wilder Foote*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 535. \$15.00.)

THIS volume is the first in a series of the *Public Papers of the Secretaries-General of the United Nations*. The editors, both now at Columbia University, have utilized their long experience in the UN Secretariat to search out many elusive documents and to write a penetrating introduction for the entire volume and one for each section. Public papers, as the editors define them, include several major categories: Lie's yearly reports to the United Nations, which established an important precedent; statements to organs of the United Nations such as Lie's arguments to the Security Council in 1948 in support of the partition plan for Palestine; press conference statements such as that on the Korean War; addresses on such topics as the political role of the Secretary-General; articles such as "U.N. vs. Mass Destruction" published in various periodicals

and anthologies; and, finally, excerpts from Lie's own book, *In the Cause of Peace* (1954).

The present collection, read in tandem with Lie's book, provides us with a rather full documentary basis for evaluating this stage of Lie's career and the work of Secretary-General as he viewed it. To look deeper into the man, since, unlike Hammarskjöld, he has as yet left no personal papers, one would have to turn to his three volumes of war memoirs or the works on him and his family, which were written primarily by Scandinavian authors during the 1940's. To assess his work at the UN, one would have to turn also to the specialized monographs on the Secretary-General, the Secretariat, and to such events as the Korean War and other operations carried out under official UN auspices while Lie held office. These other materials are essential for an appreciation of the powerful passions and forces against which Lie was contending. Only a hint of this comes through in his relatively reserved statements, even when his actions were under strong criticism in some US quarters as well as in Moscow.

The main value of the work is for reference, and it should prove a useful tool for the historian of the period. It should be in every university library. To read these materials from beginning to end is an arduous task, but it demonstrates, from the standpoint of the Secretary-General, the collapse of high hopes for international cooperation and the rise of many cold war conflicts. We see how Lie attempted to mitigate these conflicts and to help the United Nations to survive and transcend them. His "Twenty-Year Program for Peace," enunciated in 1950 shortly before the Korean War, could be adopted without much difficulty by the present or a future Secretary-General.

Boston University

WALTER C. CLEMENS, JR.

Ancient

THE SPICE TRADE OF THE ROMAN EMPIRE, 29 B.C. TO A.D. 641. By J. Innes Miller. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969. Pp. xxiii, 294. \$11.75.)

THE scope of this book is wider than its title suggests. The first half treats exotic spices throughout the ancient world; the second covers practically all aspects of Rome's trade with the Far East and along the eastern coast of Africa.

Three valuable chapters provide individual descriptions of the spices imported from the Far East and Africa, giving for each its botanical features and a brief survey of its uses. Then follow chapters that identify the routes by land and sea between the Mediterranean and the Far East, the products that were transported along each, and the people involved as growers, transporters, and middlemen. Two final chapters deal with Rome's adverse trade balance as compared with that of the Far East and with the progress made by ancient geographers in mapping Africa and the Far East.

Miller's book covers much the same ground as Warmington's *Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, which was published in 1928 and has long been out of print. Miller supplies fuller information on the various spices, suggests some convincing emendations of the overland routes sketched by Warmington, and argues for the importance of Malay seamen in Far Eastern trade. On the other hand, while Warmington's documentation is exemplary, Miller offers a mélange of primary and secondary sources, leaves whole sections undocumented, makes surprising blunders (a *negotiator* is not a shipowner [p. 190]; *barbari* are not Berbers [p. 201]), and omits important studies (he does not know Delbrueck's comprehensive "Südasiatische Seefahrt im Altertum," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, CLV-CLVI [1955-56]). The most serious problem is his

uncritical use of evidence. To arrive at what he considers a key discovery (see Chapter viii, "The Cinnamon Route")—that until the seventh century A.D. Malay seamen brought cargoes of cinnamon in outrigger canoes to Madagascar to be transshipped north—he accepts as literal truth a well-known passage in Pliny, undisturbed by its patent hyperbole and errors (see Warmington, *Commerce*, 191–92). Nor is he daunted by the fact that his theory has Indonesian-based Malays continuing to cross the ocean in canoes long after their mainland brothers had graduated to ships of nine hundred tons burden (see pp. 158, 185–87). The index is worthless.

In short, this work is a useful supplement to Warmington, but we still need an updated edition of that fine book.

New York University

LIONEL CASSON

Medieval

KAISER, KÖNIGE UND PÄPSTE: GESAMMELTE AUFSÄTZE ZUR GESCHICHTE DES MITTELALTERS. Volumes I and II, BEITRÄGE ZUR ALLGEMEINEN GESCHICHTE. Part 1, VON DER SPÄTANTIKE BIS ZUM TODE KARLS DES GROSSEN (814); Part 2, VOM TODE KARLS DES GROSSEN (814) BIS ZUM ANFANG DES 10. JAHRHUNDERTS. By Percy Ernst Schramm. (Stuttgart: Anton Hiersemann. 1968. Pp. 385; 352. DM 76 each.)

THESE two volumes, to be followed by two more extending chronologically to the thirteenth century, will offer further proof of Percy Ernst Schramm's immense genius to those who know his previous studies and will supply vast information to those encountering his work for the first time. It remains a formidable task, however, to capture in a brief review the essence of these important volumes. They present the same problems involved in any collection of historical studies: the discontinuities that emerge from piecing together works written over the last forty years; the intellectual change of pace that results from juxtaposing works written for different purposes (lectures, book reviews, dissertation critiques, articles for learned journals of many kinds, essays of *haute vulgarisation*); the repetition of ideas that surround works originally written in a context where each had to stand alone. It is difficult to discover a thesis or a developmental theme upon which to focus a review.

Schramm is, of course, aware of the problems surrounding *Gesammelte Aufsätze*. Because he wishes to present his disparate works in a way that will make sense, he structures these volumes with considerable vigor. As his title indicates, his concern is only with the offices of emperor, king, and pope. More precisely, as he spells out in his introduction, he is in search of those means that were employed in the Middle Ages to express political concepts; these volumes are concerned with *Herrschaftszeichen*, *Staatssymbolik*, and *Staatspräsentation*. This focus results in what might be compared to a musical composition entitled variations on a theme. Even though the parts of these volumes are related by constant reference to a single theme, still the richness of the total composition lies in the uniqueness of each variation. About all one can say of these volumes in a general way will sound banal to those who know Schramm's previous works: the author brilliantly reveals that the key to comprehending the fundamental political concepts of the Middle Ages lies in the ability of the historian to interpret the *Zeichen* that surrounded the political acts of kings, emperors, and popes. To give

substance to that generalization and to show what Schramm has added to his previous studies would require a close look at each item in these two solid volumes, an impossible undertaking in this brief review.

A brief guide to the "variations" will perhaps encourage medievalists to explore this work. Part 1 opens with a perceptive introduction in which Schramm defines his terms and identifies the *Zeichen* that constitute the "language" of medieval political concepts; an invaluable bibliography on this general theme is appended. The first section, dealing with the period from late antiquity to 751, includes a list of Schramm's book reviews treating this period, three previously published articles, and an essay on Gregory the Great and Boniface (the part dealing with Boniface being published for the first time). Much of Part 2 deals with the Age of Charlemagne. Here are reprinted, all in expanded form, five major studies that will be familiar to all Carolingian scholars. These essays treat the "promises" of Pepin and Charlemagne to the Roman Church, the royal office under Charlemagne, the steps marking the emergence of the imperial office prior to 800, Charlemagne as Emperor, and Charlemagne's basic thought patterns and concepts. Although already familiar with these studies individually, I found their importance enhanced by reading them as a bloc.

Part 2, devoted to the late Carolingians, may prove more valuable to most historians because it illuminates a confused period. In the first section Schramm includes a series of essays on the seals, bulls, and crowns of the Carolingians; all except one, discussing Carolingian titles, have been previously published. The second section presents a discussion of the imperial coronation of Charles the Bold and the subsequent evaluation of his concept of office. The third section, which takes up most of Part 2, is devoted to coronation in the ninth and tenth centuries, and it contains two reprinted essays on coronation among the West Franks and the Anglo-Saxons that were the basis for two of Schramm's major books, *Geschichte der englischen Königtums im Lichte der Kronung* (1937) and *Der König der Frankreichs* (1939). These essays are supplemented by the texts of the West Frankish and Anglo-Saxon coronation *ordines*. Schramm includes a valuable essay, published for the first time, on the election, coronation, and *Staats-symbolik* of the Burgundian kingdom, again supported by key texts. He also reprints an essay on the anointment and coronation of the East Frankish kings down to 919. The fourth and fifth sections are devoted to book reviews dealing with the Donation of Constantine and Notker Balbus.

In all of these studies, some dating back many years, Schramm has brought the bibliographical apparatus up to date, a service that all will applaud. He has also appended to each volume a selection of pictorial materials to aid in understanding his text.

It remains for every scholar interested in the early Middle Ages to read these essays. Only then will he discover what Schramm has demonstrated before: an amazing talent for extracting from nonliterary sources the substance of men's concepts of the state, of office, of authority, and of political process. He will never again feel content to rely on written texts as the sole source for medieval political ideas. Schramm demonstrates his own central conviction beyond doubt: "Man dürfte daher das Mittelalter geradezu das 'Zeitalter der Zeichen' nennen und als ein Symptom für dessen Ende ansehen, dass die Zeichen ihre Bedeutung verlieren."

Michigan State University

RICHARD E. SULLIVAN

BULLETIN PHILOLOGIQUE ET HISTORIQUE (JUSQU'À 1610) DU COMITÉ DES TRAVAUX HISTORIQUES ET SCIENTIFIQUES. ANNÉE 1966: ACTES DU 91^e CONGRÈS NATIONAL DES SOCIÉTÉS SAVANTES TENU À RENNES. In two volumes. [Ministère de l'Éducation nationale.] (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale. 1968. Pp. lxxviii, 409; 412-827.)

THIS publication is not as well known in the United States as it should be. Every year a meeting is held under the auspices of the *Comité des Travaux Historiques* for which scholars prepare papers dealing with a broad topic (demography in 1962, forests and clearings in 1963, and so forth). These papers are then published in the *Bulletin*. Some of them are extremely valuable, but they are seldom noticed by foreign scholars.

The theme for the meeting in 1966 was shipping, fisheries, saltworks, and commerce on the Atlantic coast of France. Since the meetings were held in Rennes, there was a special place for studies in the history of Brittany. As always happens with such a program, some contributions bore little relation to the selected topics, as, for example, a study of the building accounts of the Duc de Bar at Pont-à-Mousson. On the whole, however, there was enough conformity to give one a rough idea of the character of shipping and trade along the coasts of Brittany and Poitou during the Middle Ages.

Two things struck me in reading the papers dealing with these matters. The first was the extremely local nature of much of the commerce: small harbors, small ships, small cargoes, short voyages. The second was the importance of saltworks and of trade in salt.

For the general reader, the most interesting articles are those that are only loosely connected with the theme of the meeting: Favreau's excellent study of the salt trade in Poitou, Carolus-Barré's convincing explanation of the meaning of Beaumanoir's phrase "ville bateïce" (an open, unwalled settlement), Riché's notes on the Carolingian Renaissance in Brittany, Bienvenu's amusing account of quarrels over burial rights between Angevin churches, and Pocquet du Haut-Jussé's reappraisal of the role of *abbés commenditaires* in monastic reform in seventeenth-century Brittany (he finds that they were very helpful in the movement). We must thank Philippe Wolff once more for the publication of some valuable documents on economic and social history—a series of inventories of the property of villagers in the Toulouse region, 1358-1427. Finally, American readers will be interested, if not entirely convinced, by Sournia's explanation of the disappearance of the Greenland colony in the fifteenth century. He believes that, like sensible people, they simply went south and west to a warmer climate.

Princeton University

JOSEPH R. STRAYER

TRAVAUX ET MÉMOIRES. Volume III. [Centre de Recherche et Civilisation Byzantines.] (Paris: Éditions E. de Boccard. 1968. Pp. 458.)

It is not possible in a brief review to discuss all the material covered in a book of this sort, which ranges over many subjects of varying interest, importance, and length. Undoubtedly the book-length discussion by Gilbert Dagron of "L'Empire romain d'orient au iv^e siècle et les traditions politiques de l'hellénisme" is most prominent. Highly documented, perceptive, and comprehensive in its coverage, this book within a book is concerned with the basic question of the relation of textual evidence to historical interpretation. The problem of conflicting testimony is shown to be related to the authors' historical point of view. Are we concerned with the Romanization of the East or the Orientalization of the Roman Empire? Dagron argues that the sources present

us with the double image of a world in decline that Julian would save and an empire that Constantine would restore. Themistius and Libanius provide two opposed social, political, and cultural views of the same period, demonstrating that for them history is not the domain of objective truth but a kind of logical category and direct mode of intellection. The establishment of the capital in the East produced for the first time the conditions necessary for an effective transfer of the Roman heritage to the East and, thereby, the political integration of Hellenism and Romanism. Thus, as Dagron points out, the fourth century witnessed a Roman conversion of Hellenism under two contradictory forms: on the one hand, the constitution of a Christian empire; on the other hand, the pagan reaction and rallying of pagan Hellenism to Western Rome. He notes, paradoxically, that Romanization of the East created the condition for a rupture because Eastern Romanism had its own laws of evolution and its own dynamism and rediscovered a form of imperial ecumenism at a time when Western Romanism exalted the idea of a frontier.

Dagron also contributes four notes on the first ambassadorship of Themistius to Rome, the "proconsulship" of Themistius under the Emperor Constantius (358-359), the works of Themistius addressed to Julian, and the relations of Themistius with the Emperor Julian. Jean Gouillard contributes a major article "On the Origins of Iconoclasm: The Evidence of Gregory II?" that surveys the evidence and authenticity of the letters of German, patriarch of Constantinople (715-730), the letters of Gregory II to Leo II, and provides the text and translation of the letter of Pope Gregory to Leo on icons.

Under "Studies and Documents" Denise Papachryssanthou contributes "A Confessor of the Second Iconoclasm: The Life of Patriarch Nicetas (836)" that includes a discussion of text, author, analysis, chronology, political career, the events of the second Iconoclasm, the synaxarion referring to the patriarch, and the text and translation of the *Vita* being published. Alain Ducellier presents an article on "Arbanon and the Albanians in the Eleventh Century"; Cecil Morrison on "The Michaelaton and the Names of Coins of the End of the Eleventh Century"; Nicolas Svoronos on "The Epibole in the Time of the Comnenians"; George T. Dennis on "Two Unknown Documents of Manuel II Palaeologus"; and Herbert Hunger provides literary fare in his "The Byzantine Romance and Its Atmosphere: Callimachus and Chrysorrhoe." Irene Sorlin completes the volume with a report on "The Problem of the Khazars and the Soviet Historians in the Last Twenty Years."

All in all, this third volume of *Travaux et Mémoires* offers rich and invaluable fare for the student of the late Roman Empire and of Byzantine history.

Colgate University

JOHN E. REXINE

THE DIVINE ORDER: WESTERN CULTURE IN THE MIDDLE AGES AND THE RENAISSANCE. By Henry Bamford Parkes. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1969. Pp. viii, 480, xv. \$12.50.)

THE present volume is the second part of a study of Western cultural development that is to extend from the beginnings to modern times. It is a sequel to the author's *Gods and Men: The Origins of Western Culture* (AHR, LXV [Apr. 1960], 581).

Parkes believes that civilizations are the only comprehensible units of historical study, but he rejects such schematisms as those of Spengler or Toynbee. He is concerned with the living past, that which can still stir us, rather than with the past as a

whole; from this standpoint, philosophy, literature, and art are the prime materials for understanding the past.

In looking at the civilization of the West, Parkes finds that the central theme has been the interplay between the forces that maintain social order and the movements that lead to individual freedom and rational thought. A balance can be maintained only so long as there is nonrational agreement about the meaning of human life and about standards of value. In his first volume Parkes spoke of such agreements as "myths"; now he speaks of "ideologies" and uses myth in a more limited sense for stories that have a special social significance. The happy and productive periods of the West have been those characterized by implicit faith in such "ideologies" as feudalism in the Middle Ages, the monarchical state of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the capitalism and representative government of the nineteenth century. Each of these ideologies specified the more general Western faith in "natural law, ethical monotheism, and the coming of the heavenly kingdom."

In *The Divine Order*, Parkes begins with the decadence of the ideology of the classical world in the Dark Ages; the main topic of the book is the emergence, life, and eventual decline of another ideology, the "divine order" of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance. From the broadest perspective, the Renaissance falls within the Middle Ages. Parkes suggests that the end of the Middle Ages may be seen in England in 1642. Here one can recognize both the dissolution of the earlier sense of unity and the effective triumph of a new individualism that leads on to the next great cultural era, that of the Enlightenment.

Within these limits, the reader is offered a summary, with running comments, of the main cultural movements of the West. Parkes usually starts with a brief account of the main political and social systems, such as feudalism or the Italian cities, but most of the material is devoted to thought, literature, and art as they reflected the emergence of an ideology and its eventual breakdown. To me, the sections on thought are the least satisfactory; we find simply a digest of recent and not so recent accounts, and most of the quotations from the sources are taken from modern works (for example, five quotations from Henry Osborn Taylor's *The Medieval Mind*). The sections on art are perhaps the most interesting and surely the fullest, with Italian art receiving about three times as many pages as Erasmus and the Reformation together. Parkes concentrates on the period running through the first part of the sixteenth century; his treatment of the last century of the "divine order" is highly selective.

This work reveals a lively and inquiring mind speculating on the course of European cultural history. The author's general position on the past and present of the West provides a measure of continuity and permits obiter dicta that, while they often provoke rethinking, may occasionally prove controversial. But Western Europe is a complex civilization. One wonders if anyone has yet seen it whole or if, indeed, a unified description in the manner of Egypt or even of Greece and Rome is possible. Both Parkes's own definition of the permanent West and his pattern of ideology and decadence are too general to provide precise guidance; nor do the secondary interpretations on which he must rely all travel in the same direction. In the end one is left with the impression that, in *The Divine Order*, for all of its insights and illuminations, the whole is weaker than its parts. Perhaps one must admit that a general cultural history of the West from 400 through 1600 presupposes more powerful tools than those yet available to the author or to anyone else.

Connecticut College

F. EDWARD CRANZ

INVECTIVA IN ROMAM: ROMKRITIK IM MITTELALTER VOM 9. BIS ZUM 12. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Josef Benzinger*. [Historische Studien, Number 404.] (Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag. 1968. Pp. 130. DM 16.)

THIS pallid study is little more than an exercise. Since much has been written about reverence for Rome in the Middle Ages, Benzinger has taken it upon himself in his first work to describe the opposite: criticism of Rome. It is not surprising that he maintains that the Gregorian reform movement provoked a turn from isolated anti-Roman grumblings in the Carolingian and Ottonian periods to the intense diatribes of the twelfth century. To buttress this obvious conclusion, he presents a potpourri of published sources, most of which have already been studied in detail.

All that is controversial is Benzinger's commitment to abstract *Ideengeschichte*. He sees two strains of criticism in regional resentments of Rome and reservations about the Petrine doctrine, but misses the greatest source of antagonism in the financial issue. For example, the portrayal in the *Tractatus Garsiae* of Urban II, the most politic and respected of the reforming popes, as a fat, guzzling simonist is an instructive indication of the bitter hostility toward the growing financial demands of the *Curia* manifested as early as the eleventh century. But the author, who ignores Lunt's studies of papal finance, regards the *Tractatus* as simply a colorful literary burlesque and similarly dismisses the numerous other goliardic satires because of their low intellectual content without worrying about whether they reveal the most intensely felt cause of discontent with Rome. Had he looked at Yunck's *Lineage of Lady Meed*, he might have had second thoughts, but that useful book on a topic so close to his own remained unknown to him. One likes to think that in America this work would not have gotten beyond University Microfilms.

Northwestern University

ROBERT E. LERNER

THE DOUKAI: A CONTRIBUTION TO BYZANTINE PROSOPOGRAPHY.

By *Demetrios I. Polemis*. [University of London Historical Studies, Number 22.] ([London:] University of London, Athlone Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press, New York. 1968. Pp. xv, 228. \$9.95.)

IN 1680 Ducange published his *Familiae Augustae Byzantinae*, an authoritative genealogical work of the important Byzantine families. For centuries it was the only work of its kind and still remains fundamental, but it is gradually giving way to a series of more detailed and thorough studies devoted to particular families. Thus some years ago a monograph on the Palaeologoi and, most recently (1968), two studies, one on the Kantakouzenoi and the present work on the Doukai, have made their appearance. There also exists a work on the Komnenoi, but unfortunately it continues to remain unpublished.

The Doukai became an imperial family in the eleventh century when they occupied the throne for a brief period. Their influence in Byzantine society, however, especially since they intermarried with other important Byzantine families—the Komnenoi, the Angeloi, the Palaeologoi, and others—continued to the end of the Empire and beyond. About their earliest antecedents little is known. A family of Doukai appeared in the ninth century, but disappeared shortly after 913 following the bloody failure of one of its members to seize the throne. Their principal members, Andronikos and his son Constantine, won fame and eventually found a place in the Byzantine epic, but whether they were the progenitors of the imperial family of the eleventh century, despite the existence of a tradition to that effect, is open to question.

The work of Polemis on the Doukai is as thorough as one could expect. It is based entirely on the sources and includes every Doukas mentioned by these sources and all that they say about him. Some of the Doukai mentioned apparently were in no way related to the imperial family. A work of reference, to be consulted rather than read, it should prove useful to all students of Byzantine history.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

PETER CHARANIS

SOCIAL CHANGE IN A HOSTILE ENVIRONMENT: THE CRUSADERS' KINGDOM OF JERUSALEM. By *Aharon Ben-Ami*. [Princeton Studies on the Near East.] (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1969. Pp. viii, 193. \$7.50.)

THIS study is a sociological analysis of the structure of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem during the twelfth century. Because the crusaders' kingdom offers the opportunity to observe the effects on an organized—in this case, feudally stratified—society of transplantation into an essentially different environment, it provides an ideal case study in a special kind of social change. To avoid confusing the two disciplines, each of three periods in the history of the Latin kingdom is treated in two ways: first using historical narrative and, then, sociological analysis. The historical chapters do not include original research by the author, but they are based largely on the best recent secondary works.

Especially significant in the sociological analysis is the permanent fact of insufficient military manpower. Exploitation of native military contingents, prevented by the unwillingness of Western Christians to accept fully the Christianity of the East, represents "an institutional lag . . . the failure of leadership to change a cultural pattern under a crisis which necessitates change." On the other hand, the extraordinary growth of the religio-military orders constituted a significant "innovative response." According to the author, total acceptance of the orders by the monarchy, instead of resistance to their pretensions, might have provided an adequate response to the eventual encirclement by Saladin.

Historians undoubtedly will raise questions about a study of this kind. Does the historical evidence, limited as it often is, justify the sociological conclusions? For example, even supposing that the union of the military orders with the crown was feasible, were they as powerful as the author supposes? Powerful they certainly were, but although Alexander III was indeed indebted for support against an antipope and did in 1163 renew and expand the bull, *Omne datum omnium*, surely it is an exaggeration to maintain that the Templars could "dictate to their chosen pope the famous bull."

Despite such criticisms, this study offers historians a new dimension by which to gauge crusader institutions. If, as seems likely, the two disciplines of history and sociology are to rely increasingly on each other's findings, this book will prove an important contribution.

New York University

MARSHALL W. BALDWIN

DIE BEZIEHUNGEN ZWISCHEN DER KOMMUNE PISA UND ÄGYPTEN IM HOHEN MITTELALTER: EINE RECHTS- UND WIRTSCHAFTS-HISTORISCHE UNTERSUCHUNG. By *Karl-Heinz Allmendinger*. [Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte Number 54.] (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag GmbH. 1967. Pp. viii, 109.)

IN this short book, Dr. Allmendinger examines the relationships, primarily institutional, between the commune of Pisa and Egypt in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. His

sources are the provisions in Islamic law concerning foreigners, the treaties between Pisa and the Fatimid and Ayyubid rulers of Egypt edited a century ago by Amari, and the regulations of the Pisan statutes regarding the city's overseas colonies. Allmendinger concludes that in spite of the crusades, both parties were interested in developing peaceful commercial relationships and in establishing or defending an international legal order that would protect merchants. As the author knows Arabic, he can view his topic from the double perspective of both East and West. His study helps show that, in spite of religious differences, the Mediterranean lands to some extent formed an international community, based on commerce, similar attitudes toward foreigners, and some cultural exchange.

All this is notable, but it must be stated also that Allmendinger's book has some serious shortcomings. In a work so much concerned with Egyptian attitudes toward foreign merchants, it seems surprising that he makes no use of the Cairo Genizah documents or of the recent, remarkable studies based upon them. Surely the position of Jewish merchants in Egypt merits comparison with the status of the Pisan *fundaco* later established. The title advertises the work as a study in economic history, but nothing is presented beyond what is found in the old studies of Schaube and Heyd. On the other hand, the author takes up themes that seem entirely out of proportion with the modest dimensions of his study. He considers, for example, the juridical status of the Pisan commune in relation to the Western Empire and the papacy, the constitutional development of Egypt, and the relationship of both the Western Empire and Church to Egypt in the thirteenth century. These pages, void of originality, almost seem designed to fill out an otherwise too skimpy text. There is no index, and the bibliography misses several recent works relevant to Pisan commercial history, both in Italian and English.

University of Wisconsin, Madison

DAVID HERLIHY

STEPHANUS DE LINGUA-TONANTE: STUDIES IN THE SERMONS OF STEPHEN LANGTON. By *Phyllis Barzillay Roberts*. [Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, Studies and Texts, Number 16.] (Toronto: the Institute. 1968. Pp. xii, 271. \$9.00.)

No critical evaluation of the life and thought of Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury (1207-1228) has appeared since the biography by F. M. Powicke, which was published in 1928. Mrs. Roberts attempts to examine the sermons "as a source of Langton's earlier years in Paris, and as a source in social and intellectual history," and she more than succeeds, both in providing new information on a largely unknown phase of Langton's life and in using a type of material that Powicke did not consider.

This book, a careful study of the language, scriptural basis, themes, locales, and audiences of the sermons that Langton delivered during his more than thirty years as preacher and professor in Paris and during his stormy archiepiscopate in England, is based almost entirely on new manuscript material. Roberts' most significant contributions include the classification of all known manuscripts of Langton's sermons, a critical examination of their degree of authenticity, and a list of the location of all extant texts.

In his own time Langton the preacher was known as the "Thundering Tongue." Seen in retrospect, his sermons reveal him as very much the traditionalist on religious, economic, and political issues. He followed his former school friend, Innocent III, in advocating the reform of the clergy, he had no real understanding of the social implications of the emerging bourgeois class which he roundly denounced, and he con-

demned usury. Langton defended political Augustinianism and the supremacy of the spiritual power in a Christian society: it was the duty of kings to rule according to ecclesiastical precepts and to provide justice, order, and peace wherein the citizen might pursue his pilgrimage to the City of God. Thus, in all of these attitudes Langton scarcely differs from contemporary reform thought, and the book serves to confirm what has long been generally suspected.

On Church-state relations, Roberts believes that Langton's position was High Gregorian, pro-Gallic, and very much in the tradition of Thomas Becket, and this fact "may help to explain [King] John's opposition to the archbishop. . . ." This is plausible enough, but, since she raises that very complicated issue, Roberts might have given it more attention than one superficial paragraph.

Students of medieval liturgy, rhetoric, and social and ecclesiastical history will find valuable information in this sound and important contribution. They will appreciate the author's graceful prose which is a delight to read.

University of Illinois, Urbana

BENNETT D. HILL

IMPRISONMENT IN MEDIEVAL ENGLAND. By *Ralph B. Pugh*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. xvi, 419. \$14.50.)

IMPRISONMENT in medieval England, contrary to popular misconception, was punitive as well as custodial and coercive. In fact, the earliest mention of imprisonment, in the laws of Alfred, provides that defaulters on oaths or pledges be sentenced to forty days in prison at a royal manor. In the period to which Professor Pugh devotes his most intensive study, that is, from Henry II's Assize of Arms to the Gaols Act of 1532, imprisonment was the prescribed penalty for many offenses, even though keeping a man captive was often costly and difficult. In the first 150 years following the Conquest, imprisonment was the punishment for deceivers such as those who brought false accusations, those who falsified documents, as well as for those who, through incompetence or evil intent, flouted the machinery of justice. The Statutes of Acton Burnell (1283) and of Merchants (1285) added defaulting debtors to the categories of defendants who might be punitively imprisoned by legal action. From Edward I's reign to the end of the medieval period there was an "extraordinary multiplication of imprisonments which the statutes bespeak," yet prison never became the penalty for felony. Felons normally suffered the death penalty unless they could claim benefit of clergy or sue out a royal pardon.

Not merely relatively but also absolutely there were more buildings used as prisons in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries than there are in England today. They ranged in size from overnight lockups to great prisons like the Fleet and the Tower of London. In kind, there were as many different sorts of prisons as there were jurisdictions, even though prisoners were not strictly segregated according to offenses committed, reason for imprisonment, or court of origin. The county jail kept by the sheriff was a common resort for many offenders.

A reader searching for sensational medieval instances of man's inhumanity to his fellows will find this book disappointing. Some jailers were cruel, and the famine years of 1315-1317 exacted at least as heavy a toll of poor people inside jails as outside. But prisoners were "to a degree" protected by common law from hard usage. The main point that Pugh makes with regard to welfare is that prisoners were legally expected to supply their own food, bedding, and clothing or to pay their jailers for these commodities. Keeping a jail was a profitable source of income for the jailer, and this, rather

than deliberate cruelty, often made the life of the medieval prisoner harsh. Private charity in the later Middle Ages served to mitigate suffering, but it was rather haphazard in its operation.

Pugh's expressed expectation that this book will be "followed by a more polished and more sophisticated successor" seems unlikely to be realized in the near future unless he attempts to improve upon himself. The sources for the study of imprisonment are nowhere gathered together in one archival repository. The author's five-page list of abbreviations (he has not attempted a bibliography) gives some indication of the mass of scattered evidence he has culled from private and public sources in compiling this detailed and comprehensive work.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

MARGARET HASTINGS

BRACTON ON THE LAWS AND CUSTOMS OF ENGLAND. Volume I, INTRODUCTION; Volume II. Translated, with revisions and notes, by *Samuel E. Thorne*. [Published in association with the Selden Society.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. lvi, 422; xxii, 449. \$50.00 the set.)

For English legal and constitutional history or political theory in the thirteenth century, historians should use this edition of Bracton. It supersedes that of George E. Woodbine (1915-42). Woodbine's Latin text (*AHR*, XXVIII [Jan. 1923], 301; XLVII [Oct. 1941], 101; XLVIII [July 1943], 773) is here reprinted with the addition of a parallel English translation by Professor Thorne. For this translation Thorne has made virtually a new edition with his numerous emendations, clarifications, and suggestions for correcting the order of passages accidentally transposed.

Textual difficulties have bedeviled the interpretation of Bracton's work. F. W. Maitland, master of English law, came to the reluctant conclusion that Bracton was an "uninstructed Romanist"; while Hermann Kantorowicz, equally at home with civil and canon law, somewhat paradoxically showed Bracton at work skillfully adapting treatises on Roman law, even improving upon a statement in the *Institutes*. As T. F. T. Plucknett pointed out, such widely divergent views could only be possible because the two scholars were literally not reading the same Bracton. Kantorowicz' theory of a "Redactor," who set down Bracton's text and was responsible for the errors, allowed him to emend the text and, thus, remove the blunders that Maitland, following the manuscripts, had attributed to Bracton's failure to understand his Roman sources. Even so, Maitland was well aware of the manuscript problems and called for a scholarly edition. That Woodbine's edition met this need in presenting a text based upon an examination of forty-six manuscripts and a collation of eleven is generally agreed; yet, numerous obviously corrupt passages remained. For this reason, both Kantorowicz and, more recently, H. G. Richardson condemned Woodbine's refusal to emend without manuscript support and asserted that the job would have to be done again.

Thorne has now presented a new understanding of these problems. He has identified many Romanist passages previously unrecognized and found them to be distributed throughout the treatise, not confined to a few folios as Maitland had thought. Thorne also points out that the corrupt passages occur as frequently in sections dealing with English law as in those showing the influence of Roman law. Most historians would agree with him that the evidence indicates that all the extant manuscripts descend from an archetype that was itself corrupt and separated from any manuscript that Bracton

could have written. Among other things, this conclusion (discussed at length in the introductory volume) leads to a sounder appreciation of Bracton's methods and, incidentally, to a highly favorable evaluation of him as a Romanist.

After studying the problem of the authenticity of the "additions" found in many manuscripts, Thorne grouped the manuscripts into somewhat different families than those selected by Woodbine. The principle followed was that the additions are authentic when they include cases to which it can now be shown that Bracton was a party, those decided by him as a judge, and those copied in his *Note Book* or taken from the same rolls of Martin of Pateshull and William Raleigh. These tests place the translation on a different manuscript foundation from that used by Woodbine, allowing some improvement in the text.

The translation of a legal treatise is to some extent an interpretation, and Thorne's version profits from his thorough knowledge of legal history. Nevertheless, readers may differ about various details. For example, the translation has some regrettable inconsistencies: "bondsman" for *servus* (a special problem because of the Romanist context) and "villein" for *nativus*; "bondsman" for *villanus*; "bondsman" for *servus* and *villanus*; and "villein" for *servus* in one sentence and for *villanus* in the next. Why should "Petrus constabularius de Meautona" be considered a surname and translated "Peter Constable"? The parallel Latin text, for which both translator and publishers are to be commended, provides a ready answer to such nit picking. However, this arrangement raises another question as to whether the translation should not be as completely English as possible. What is gained by using "within the *potestas* of his lord" instead of "power"? Occasionally the English reader is presented with a sentence like this: "An obligation also arises *ex maleficio* or *quasi*, also *ex delicto* or *quasi ex delicto*, for *injuria* are of several kinds. . . ." Even though the translation by Sir Travers Twiss (Rolls Series, 1878-83) is in many ways deficient, it might have been well to have followed his lead in giving an approximation in English for the Latin technical terms on the facing page.

The footnotes in themselves make this edition indispensable for the study of Bracton. They convert Bracton's allusions and cross references into page numbers; they provide identification of Roman sources, Biblical quotations, sections from Glanvill, cases in the *Note Book*, references to the *Curia Regis Rolls*, related passages in chancery rolls, and, surprisingly, even three to Ovid. They also constitute the best introduction to the voluminous modern literature on Bracton and his treatise. The edition so well begun in these two volumes is to be completed with two further volumes of text and translation and a final volume with notes on special points and an index.

Duke University

CHARLES R. YOUNG

- KANCELARIA KAZIMIERZA KONRADOWICA KSIĘCIA KUJAWSKO-ŁĘCZYCKIEGO (1233–1267) [The Chancery of Kazimir Konradowic, Duke of Cuiavia and Łęczyca (1233–1267)]. By *Józef Mitkowski*. [Polska Akademia Nauk—Oddział w Krakowie. Prace Komisji Nauk Historycznych, Number 21.] (Cracow: Zakład Narodowy Imienia Ossolińskich, Wydawnictwo Polskiej Akademii Nauk. 1968. Pp. 110, 5 plates. Zł. 22.)
- DOKUMENT I KANCELARIA SADU ZIEMSKIEGO KRAKOWSKIEGO DO POŁOWY XV WIEKU [Documents and the Chancery of the Cracow Land Court before the Middle of the 15th Century]. By *Zbigniew Perzanowski*. [Zeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Number 182. Prace Historyczne, Number 23.] (Cracow: Nakładem Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. 1968. Pp. 166. Zł. 28.)

THE first of the two books reviewed here, that by Mitkowski, represents the results of an inquiry into the organization of the princely chancery of Cuiavia and Łęczyca in Poland during the thirteenth century. Previous studies of medieval Polish diplomatics concentrated on the output of the chancery of the kings or of the grand dukes, for there are relatively few extant documents prior to the thirteenth century. The charters produced by the chanceries of lesser principalities pose additional problems, and, as a result, they receive less attention. This attempt by Mitkowski to reconstruct the organization of the chancery of Cuiavia-Łęczyca, therefore, deserves recognition not only because of the considerable effort expended, but also because of the significant results.

Mitkowski's study is based on the analysis of over seventy charters, including forty-seven originals, of Kazimir I, prince of Cuiavia (1230) and later of Cuiavia and Łęczyca (1247–1260). Thirteen charters had to be subjected to rigorous analysis in order to ascertain their authenticity. The author has succeeded either in revising some earlier verdicts or in making decisions where opinions were divided. Using the verified charters and some additional documentation, the author identified some of the chancellors, their deputies, and some of the notarial personnel. One of the interesting facts to emerge from this study is that the princely chancery of Kazimir I was more than a center of legal documentation; it was a center of learning as well. Many people active in the chancery and identified by Mitkowski subsequently became prominent figures in Poland's political and ecclesiastical life. Mitkowski was able to establish that the chancery was supported by the tithes from twenty-nine villages. The study concludes with a *regesta* of the authentic documents, samples of charters, and an English summary.

The study by Perzanowski is concerned with the organization, personnel, and forms of documentation of the regional courts of the principality of Cracow (*terra Cracoviensis*, *Ziemia Krakowska*). It covers a crucial period in Polish history, for a centralized kingdom emerged during the fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. In addition to printed collections of medieval legal documents, the author utilizes over two-hundred manuscripts scattered among several locations in Cracow and elsewhere in Poland. The present study actually precedes publication of these documents. Perzanowski establishes the origins, the organization, and main personnel of the courts and analyzes the documents with respect to continuity of forms. This study has a French summary.

These studies amply illustrate the working of two types of chanceries in medieval Poland and show that the form of both the princely charters and court documents have much in common with the documentation of chanceries in the West. They also provide insight into the research possibilities offered by published and unpublished medieval Latin documents in Poland. The growing number of published medieval documents

from Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, and Croatia should provide material for comparative studies in diplomatics.

University of Washington

IMRE BOBA

CONSIGLIO DEI DIECI: DELIBERAZIONI MISTE, REGISTRI III-IV (1325-1335). Edited by *Ferruccio Zago*. [Fonti per la storia di Venezia, Section I, Archivi pubblici.] (Venice: Comitato per la Pubblicazione delle Fonti Relative alla Storia di Venezia. 1968. Pp. xiii, 269.)

ZACCARIA DE FREDO: NOTAIO IN CANDIA (1352-1357). Edited by *Antonino Lombardo*. [Fonti per la storia di Venezia, Section III, Archivi notarili.] (Venice: Comitato per la Pubblicazione delle Fonti Relative alla Storia di Venezia. 1968. Pp. xi, 131.)

THESE two volumes demonstrate anew the gratifying variety of source publications issuing under the auspices of the *Comitato*, which, since the 1940's, has published a number of ecclesiastical and family sources from the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Given the scarcity of contemporary public records, these works provide valuable aid in reconstructing the institutional and social development of the Venetian Commune. More recently the *Comitato* has sponsored a number of editions of economic and political sources from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, an enterprise of considerable value for students of late medieval and Renaissance Venice. These two volumes occupy an important place in this latter group.

Ferruccio Zago's edition of *Registers III and IV* of the *Deliberazioni Miste* of the Council of Ten follows publication of the first two registers in 1962. As Zago points out in his brief preface, this new work follows the council's activities until it was permanently established in the governmental framework of Venice in 1335. *Register III* contains documents from 1325 to 1331, in all 602 acts; *Register IV* is a fragment, including only 61 acts between February and November of 1335. Despite their fragmentary and badly preserved condition, the deliberations in this volume are of supreme importance for understanding the growth of Venetian government in the *trecento*—especially those institutions of civic discipline of which the *Dieci* themselves are the most famous instance. Throughout these registers, for example, one encounters indications that the authority of the Council of Ten over the judicial and police systems of Venice was growing. At the same time many of the acts reveal dimensions of the internal problems confronting the Venetian state in the early *trecento* and the state's responses to them, such as the varied measures adopted at the time of the patrician conspiracy of 1328. It is precisely the multiform richness of these deliberations that makes the volume's appearance a welcome event both for scholars with access to the original registers and for students seeking a significant introduction to Venetian history.

Much the same can be said for Antonino Lombardo's edition of fragments of two minute books and one parchment of the notary, Zaccaria de Fredo, who practiced in the Venetian colony of Candia, on Crete, in the 1350's. Like its two predecessors in the series of Candian notaries published by the *Comitato*, this collection of acts constitutes a convenient source of information on several aspects of Venice's overseas domain, of which Crete was a pivotal point. Indeed the availability now of three Candian notarial collections ranging between the 1270's and the mid-*trecento* offers an opportunity for close study of the Venetian Empire's evolution during one of its most dramatic epochs. This latest volume will be useful to economic historians for its documentation of com-

mercial and real-estate transactions among Venetians and Greeks on Crete. Students of Venetian politics and society will be interested in the documentation of the island population's activities and associations on the eve of the anti-Venetian uprising in 1363-1364. All who use these documents will be grateful for the editor's analysis of the volume's contents in the preface and even more so for the extraordinarily convenient "Indice dei documenti," which contains nothing less than abstracts of all the acts in the text. These two volumes should prove a significant contribution to the growing interest in Venetian studies.

Michigan State University

STANLEY CHOJNACKI

JEAN DE FRANCE, DUC DE BERRI: SA VIE. SON ACTION POLITIQUE (1340-1416). Volume III, DE L' "AVÈNEMENT" DE JEAN SANS PEUR À LA MORT DU DUC DE BERRI; Volume IV, INDEX ALPHABÉTIQUE GÉNÉRAL. By *Françoise Lehoux*. (Paris: Éditions A. et J. Picard et Cie. 1967; 1968. Pp. 518; 151. 150 fr. the set.)

With the publication of these two volumes, Mlle. Lehoux brings to a close her monumental study of the life and political career of John, duke of Berry. Massive in detail and scrupulous in scholarship, it is clearly a work destined to endure.

Nevertheless, few scholars will be fully satisfied with the fruits of Lehoux's labor. As Professor Pegues remarked in his review of the first volume (*AHR*, LXXII [Apr. 1967], 954), "Her method and purpose result largely in what in France is called *l'histoire événementielle*. Her prose is entirely readable, but often not enlightening. Living at the Duke's side creates detail that overwhelms."

These criticisms are even more relevant when judging the work as a whole. Relentlessly chronological and narrative in its approach, it seldom pauses to explain or analyze the events being presented, a failing that becomes doubly unfortunate in Volume III where the principal subject is the confusing origins and course of the civil wars that so divided France in the opening decades of the fifteenth century. The facts are accurate, but, when removed from all analytical structure, they quickly appear meaningless and empty.

In part this weakness derives from the author's decision to base her account almost exclusively on primary materials; the absence of secondary accounts from her footnotes is striking. While this reliance on documents and chronicles is undeniably a source of scholarly strength, it also deprives the author of the benefits of a long historiographical tradition that might have enabled her to infuse her study with greater understanding and depth. In fairness it should be said that her decision was conscious and resulted from a determination to avoid those works whose interpretations she found prejudicial to John, but the liabilities of this method appear to outweigh its advantages.

Further, the work suffers from interpretive uncertainty. Like most biographers, Lehoux has become enamored of her subject, and this leads her frequently to overstate his importance. Thus Volume III is filled with references to John's "unbreakable resolution" and to his crucial significance in the affairs of the realm. Yet this dubious view is not consistently maintained; rather, Lehoux can suddenly take an opposite course and conclude that the Duke "was as deprived of judgment as of character and that he had always been incapable of imposing equitable settlements." Such inconsistencies do little to build confidence in the author's interpretive skill.

Despite these flaws, however, much merit remains. Thanks to Lehoux's conscientious

efforts, we now have a detailed itinerary for John and a plethora of information about the activities of a prince representative of the age. Thanks to a thorough, though non-analytical, index, this material can be easily used. Without doubt, then, scholars have cause to be grateful.

Dartmouth College

CHARLES T. WOOD

ARCHBISHOP HENRY CHICHELE. By *E. F. Jacob*. [Leaders of Religion.] ([London:] Nelson. 1967. Pp. viii, 133. 42s.)

IN 1943, five hundred years after Archbishop Chichele's death, Professor Jacob published the first volume of Chichele's register, along with an extended introduction. Since then, at least, their two names have been intertwined. Jacob obviously knows Chichele very well; he is, moreover, very much at home in many phases of early fifteenth-century history, particularly ecclesiastical and intellectual but not just English history. In this graceful, popular little book his various sorts of knowledge play lightly against each other. This study is not so piercingly illuminating as his essay, "Reynold Pecock, Bishop of Chichester," but it too speaks in Jacob's almost audible, colloquial, but learned vernacular with, on occasion, a question, or an italicization, or a sentence like, "And then came the surprising thing."

Of Henry Chichele himself, archbishop of Canterbury from 1414 to 1443, Jacob, looking at his tomb face, says, "one would not have stopped in the road to see who it was." He was a "moderate conciliar," a dispensed pluralist, a civil servant, a diplomat, in every sense of the word a Wykehamist, and even a patron of architecture and a serious promoter of the education of the clergy, the founder of All Souls' College. He was a nationalist and an internationalist, a mediator, a learned lawyer, a careful executor of royal wills. The books he collected were "useful and relevant," and so was he. He tied together Higham Ferrers (where he was born, where he built, and where he summered), Salisbury, Oxford, Canterbury, London, Constance, Pisa, and Wales—"social and religious" complexes "of people and buildings." His life, even though it was in a way pale, touched a great deal of contemporary life, government, thought, piety—the piety of college, bedehouse, and stained glass: "Like all men of his time, Chichele felt a special devotion to the women saints." He was Henry V's man. He tells us what "Henry V" means.

University of California, Berkeley

ROBERT BRENTANO

AM WENDEPUNKT DER HANSE: UNTERSUCHUNGEN ZUR WIRTSCHAFTS- UND SOZIALGESCHICHTE WENDISCHER HANSESTÄDTE IN DER ERSTEN HÄLFTE DES 15. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Konrad Fritze*. [Veröffentlichungen des Historischen Instituts der Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald, Number 3.] (Berlin: VEB Deutscher Verlag der Wissenschaften. 1967. Pp. 272. DM 38.)

IN this book Konrad Fritze discusses the crucial and controversial period in the history of the Hanse that immediately followed the Treaty of Stralsund of 1370. Many historians regard this period as the culmination of Hanseatic power. Among the questions to which the author addresses himself is the nature of the period. Was it still the "Blütezeit der Hanse," or was it the beginning of gradual decline and disintegration? Was the Hanseatic League still helping the economic and cultural development of the areas of

the North Sea and the Baltic, or was the intermediary role of the Hanseatic middleman in sharp contradiction to some essential aspirations of most countries, areas, and towns still controlled by the powerful league?

Fritze attempts to answer some of these questions by exploring the history of the Wendish towns of Rostock, Stralsund, Greifswald, and Wismar at the end of the fourteenth century and in the first half of the fifteenth. The author has undertaken an extensive analysis of the economic and social structures of the so-called "Wendish quarter" of the Hanseatic League, paying considerable attention to the foreign relations of the Hanse with Denmark, Holland, and England. In the light of his detailed research it seems that this period was really a turning point in Hanseatic history. After years of domination and monopoly, the Hanse began to lose its previous role and was beginning to face gradual decline.

Fritze's book is based on an examination of the archives of the Wendish towns and of Lübeck, as well as on printed primary and secondary sources. It is to be regretted that the book lacks an adequate concluding chapter and that a work so full of names and problems has no index. Still, the book is an important contribution to the history of the Hanseatic League at the end of the Middle Ages.

Laurentian University

H. ZINS

LE SONGE DU VIEIL PELERIN. In two volumes. By *Philippe de Mézières*. Edited by *G. W. Coopland*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 636; vii, 536. \$42.50 the set.)

IN 1389 Philippe de Mézières finished this work of several years, which is a long account of a journey by himself and Queens Truth, Justice, Peace, and Mercy through the realms of Christendom, while they examine local conditions in order to criticize evils and recommend reforms. Once Christendom was reformed, a crusade could be organized, and the leading role would be played by Charles VI of France. This work, valuable as a social, political, and religious encyclopedia, was compiled by a layman of considerable worldly experience. Mézières had traveled everywhere, been chancellor of Cyprus, and was a prominent figure at the French court. He had, in addition, a meditative, perhaps even mystical, cast of mind. While the reports of current conditions were thereby colored, they are still valuable, and the work as a whole, in its combination of realism and fantasy, tells us much about the literary culture of the late Middle Ages and its relation to reality. In this function it can be compared to the *Romance of the Rose*, while its documentation of French expansionism reminds us of the plan for a crusade put forward by Pierre Dubois at the beginning of the century.

The present edition transcribes one manuscript and selectively collates two others; the remaining two copies known to survive have not been systematically used. Each book is preceded by a long, annotated synopsis in English, including large sections of actual translation of the French text; in addition, there is a long preface devoted to the author and his work. In so far as one can speak of a modern standard of critical textual editing, this work does not even pretend to meet it. A case can, however, be made for not spending too much time on late medieval garrulity, and historians, at least, will probably be satisfied simply to have a usable text. The annotation is inadequate and often inept—sometimes it seems as though the editor merely used whatever he happened to have in his file of notes—nor does the commentary supersede the monograph on *Le Songe* by Dora M. Bell. Finally, while these volumes are massive and

beautiful enough to justify their cost, one could have wished for a simple printing of the French text in one volume at perhaps half the present price.

University of Washington

HOWARD KAMINSKY

Modern Europe

THE NEW CAMBRIDGE MODERN HISTORY. Volume III, THE COUNTER-REFORMATION AND PRICE REVOLUTION, 1559-1610. Edited by R. B. Wernham. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1968. Pp. xv, 598. \$10.50.)

EUROPE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY. By H. G. Koenigsberger and George L. Mosse. [A General History of Europe.] (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1968. Pp. xiii, 399. \$7.95.)

The New Cambridge Modern History has its virtues as an introduction to a period, but when the present volume is set alongside so crisp, unified, and purposeful a work as *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, the deficiencies of the genre become all too apparent. It has 550 pages to deal with half the period that Koenigsberger and Mosse cover in 360, but instead of deeper illumination we are offered packed narrative. Does the student really need the mountain of detail used, for example, in a blow-by-blow chronology of the Ottoman's conquests in Azerbaijan? Might not the space have been better employed by additional topical chapters like J. R. Hale's superb discussion of the art of war, or Marie Boas Hall's penetrating depiction of late sixteenth-century science? These latter suggest the service that a volume of this kind can perform: it can allow leading scholars to give a substantial, leisurely account of a topic that usually receives only lengthy monographic or scanty textbook treatment. Here the middle ground, so essential for students, is available.

In the two chapters just mentioned the opportunity is brilliantly taken. If one contrasts them with Koenigsberger's and Mosse's rapid look at war and science the comparison is entirely in favor of the *Cambridge History*, as it should be, considering the relative space involved. What is unfortunate is that only two other chapters are in the same class: Joel Hurstfield's succinct analysis of social change and officeholding, and Garrett Mattingly's assessment of international relations. For the rest, the interest of the student will be but rarely aroused.

In the first place, the widely divergent purposes of the separate chapters make it almost impossible to read the book straight through—surely a minimum requirement if it is to serve as an introduction to the period. The disarming footnotes that refer the reader to “a somewhat different view” elsewhere (in fact a totally opposite view) do not, as one might assume, reveal the glorious variety of history, but merely the varying levels of plausibility or evidence displayed by its practitioners. How is the student supposed to handle these internal contradictions (for example, that there was, or was not, “a new and positive spirit of nationalism” at the time)? What is he to make of the five chapters that start with Cateau-Cambrésis, each giving the treaty a different significance? How is the beginner to reconcile such a bewildering array of opinions? What is he to think of Sigismund III, who embodies the Counter Reformation in Sweden, but is a religious moderate in Poland? And the omissions seem glaring when compared with Koenigsberger's and Mosse's much shorter book. How can one excuse the absence of Mariana and the near omission of Botero? Why is political thought restricted to England and France? Where are Marlowe, Shakespeare, Cervantes, Tintoretto, El Greco, Palladio, and Palestrina? Why does Montaigne merit only one

sentence? How, in this context, can one justify over four pages on Richard Hooker, or a whole chapter on "The British Question, 1559-1569," replete with every change in Mary Stuart's fortunes?

The editors of the *Cambridge History* seem to have in mind a goal similar to that of the New York *Times*: you do not have to read it all, but it is nice to know that it is all there. The present volume's internal contradictions and omissions suggest that even this goal is not being met. Confusion is inevitable when one finds in the introduction that "the pace [of economic activity] was slowing markedly by the 1590s," while five pages later the chapter on economic developments speaks of "the pervasive resurgence . . . which gathered strength about the mid-fifteenth century and lasted until the catastrophes of the mid-seventeenth century." And the editor's gloomy view of these years as a mediocre period of European history seems not to be borne out by the majority of the contributors. The exclusion of literature, music, and the visual arts is inexcusable, while the omission of footnotes and bibliography renders the constant references to other scholars totally useless. Where, for instance, is the student to find W. S. Unger's comments on the dearth of 1556-1557, or John Stow's on the plague of 1563, and how is he to know whether these are primary or secondary sources?

This unconcern for the tyro is particularly noticeable in F. C. Spooner's chapter on the economy, which is long on detailed information about population, currency, prices, production, and the abysmal gaps in our knowledge, but short on general conclusions. Perhaps this period is too brief for the economic historian: Koenigsberger and Mosse, on the other hand, are able to discuss the price rise, population increase, the growth of towns, and changing patterns of trade, industry, finance, and agriculture in terms that establish the significance of the sixteenth century for all modern European history. Spooner's chapter is a useful summary of current research and a well of information, but it is not the best introduction for the student.

Much the same is true of R. R. Bolgar on "Education and Learning," a survey of curriculums, textbooks, and scholarship that the specialist will appreciate but that the student will find hard going. T. M. Parker's chapters on Catholicism and Protestantism are solid, thorough accounts, and the section on Lutheranism after Luther is especially well done, but the student can get a better guide in the appropriate chapter of Holborn's *History of Modern Germany*, where Confessional strife is at least set in the context of Germany's social and political history. Here six chapters intervene before we come to G. D. Ramsay's chapter on the Habsburgs and the Empire—an admirably lucid presentation of the complicated politics of the time, but one that explicitly leaves the treatment of social and economic affairs for a different volume. This kind of atomization negates the achievements of the individual authors.

The virtue of Hurstfield, Mattingly, Hale, and Hall is precisely that they deal with reasonably limited and self-contained topics, which they can explore in a sufficiently broad compass to achieve the marriage of generality and precision that is absent in most of the volume. At the end of these chapters one has an understanding of comparative developments in administrative techniques, of the international climate, of the atmosphere and methods of warfare, and of the advance of science that cannot usually be gained without extensive reading in the other work of these four authors and the writings of Mousnier, Oman, Yates, and many others. Hall's particularly elegant synthesis demonstrates why "all science in this period was mathematics, medicine, or magic."

Within the section on political history there is a splendid long chapter of almost one hundred pages by Koenigsberger on Spain, the Netherlands, Italy, and France. He

has woven together many themes, notably the frustrations of Philip II, the shaping of the United Provinces, and the agony of France. Everyone has profited from Mattingly's *Armada*, and the great crisis of the 1580's gives the era a pointed coherence. Yet here, as in the chapters on overseas rivalries, on Sweden, Poland, and Lithuania, and the Ottomans, the detail often becomes overpowering. Had the authors not been required to pay so much attention to annual fluctuations, they would have been able to highlight major themes like the achievement of Henry IV or the collapse of royal authority in Poland, which receive far less emphasis than they deserve.

As soon as one turns to *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, one realizes how large an opportunity has been missed. There are weaknesses here, too—an underemphasis on religion and a number of places where the student is likely to be perplexed rather than enlightened—but there can be no question that a sense of the period is conveyed, that interesting problems are constantly raised, and that a lively momentum is generated. The contrast can be seen vividly in the thirty-page chapter on Philip II's Europe, which here embraces a subject that (without Elizabeth's England) takes up three times the space in the *Cambridge History*. Koenigsberger's hand is at work in both (compare, for example, the two paragraphs, each starting with the sentence "It was a commonplace of sixteenth-century statecraft that rebellions should be crushed in their infancy," on page 270 of the *Cambridge History* and page 279 of *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*). But the shorter chapter manages to deal with every topic of significance that appears in the larger one, to provide adequate documentation, and to give the whole a coherence and direction that the student may lose in the details of the longer treatment. If it can be done on this scale, why not allow Koenigsberger to spend sixty of his pages on other matters, such as the status and government of cities, which is beautifully handled in his and Mosse's book but nowhere to be found in the *Cambridge History*?

A particularly useful feature of *Europe in the Sixteenth Century* is the chapter on sources, from which the student can profitably make his own start in the literature. The only significant omissions appear to be Foxe's *Martyrs* and the current interest in parish records. One can also complain that the instructive treatment of economics slights the rise of rents, industrial advance, and the impact of piracy. But these are minor lapses. More serious is the occasional impression that too much is being demanded of the student. He will need considerable background if he is to understand what the authors say about Wyclif and Huss, about humanism, about Luther's "tower experience," about the rout of the Armada, about Kepler's second law, or about Galileo's rejection of elliptical orbits. One sentence to describe Schwenkfeld, Franck, and Weigel is more a disservice than a help. And the events do not always have the clarity or the excitement they deserve. The chapter on Zwingli, Bucer, and Calvin is rather difficult, while more should have been made of the drama of Luther's progression from the lightning bolt to the castle at Wartburg.

As for interpretation, it is hard to agree that the archinquisitor and ascetic, Caraffa, did not advance the Counter Reformation during his pontificate; that English music declined after the 1620's (what about the Purcells, Blow, and others); that the Colloquy of Poissy can be left out of France's Civil Wars; or that "England was drifting towards civil war as the century closed." Professor Elton might have sharp words for the authors about this last remark. Nonetheless, one comes away from the book full of admiration for their sense of judgment and synthetic abilities. The chapter on "Empires" should stimulate even the specialist, and some of the vignettes (Machiavelli, Lübeck, or the Jews, to pick a few of the best at random) are masterly. Economic,

political, and religious history form most of the book, but at the end political thought, literature, painting, and music are fitted aptly though sometimes sketchily into the age. Only Brueghel, perhaps the greatest social and political protester of his day, completely fails to get his due (and has his name consistently misspelled into the bargain). The section on science alone seems to give a somewhat limited yet idiosyncratic picture of an important subject—Mercator and Paracelsus deserve a place in a book on the sixteenth century, while Galileo (as the authors uneasily admit) does not. A look at Hall's chapter in the *Cambridge History* should make it abundantly clear why the former are essential and the latter belongs to a different age.

On almost no other count, however, does the comparison work against *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*. Even in apparatus Koenigsberger and Mosse do better, with excellent bibliographies, charts, and maps, none of which are present in the *Cambridge History* (though the reader should be advised that it is Donaldson, not Asmaldson, who wrote about the Scottish Reformation, and that the map of Saxony serves no discernible function). They have filled the need for an introduction that stands between a brief survey like E. H. Harbison's *The Age of Reformation* and John Elliott's recent *Europe Divided, 1559-1598*, which is easily preferable, for those interested in the shorter period, to the *Cambridge History*. The materials are at last coming to hand that will give the student the stimulating and broad-gauged reading that he is entitled to have in a course on the sixteenth century.

Princeton University

THEODORE K. RABB

BRITAIN AND THE NETHERLANDS IN EUROPE AND ASIA: PAPERS DELIVERED TO THE THIRD ANGLO-DUTCH HISTORICAL CONFERENCE. Edited by J. S. Bromley and E. H. Kossmann. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1968. Pp. 264. \$9.50.)

THE format of this excellent series is unusually attractive. Although all collective works seem to be of uneven quality, the standard of scholarship demonstrated here is high as is the general quality of the prose. Readers of the first two volumes in this series will have found the articles useful in themselves and also valuable in providing, through the footnotes, concise bibliographies of the topics being discussed. Professors Bromley and Kossmann have made the present volume even more useful in this respect by persuading the contributors to add short lists at the end of each paper for "Further Reading." The inclusion of two maps helps the reader to avoid the mistake of placing Chittagong on the Ganges, as the directors of the East India Company did in 1686. And the adoption of fairly uniform footnote citations with standard abbreviations is also helpful. But perhaps the chief contribution of the editors was the selection of papers, two of which were not delivered to the conference, that would form a true book rather than an incoherent compilation of discrete parts. Indeed, the two extraneous papers, "English Attitudes to Europe in the Seventeenth Century," by J. R. Jones, and "Britain as a European Power from Her Glorious Revolution to the French Revolutionary War," by Alice Clare Carter, are perhaps the outstanding items in a very strong collection.

This is not to say that any of the other papers is weak. For the most part they are presented as matched pairs, Jones's article being mated with one by J. W. Smit on "The Netherlands and Europe in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries." The discussion of some "Aspects of Dutch Colonial Development in Asia in the Seventeenth Century," by M. A. P. Meilink-Roelofs, fits well with an article by D. K. Bassett on "Early English Trade and Settlement in Asia, 1602-1690." J. C. Boogman and Alun

Davies form another pair, the first discussing "The Netherlands in the European Scene, 1813-1913," and the second treating, perhaps too succinctly, the problem of "England and Europe, 1815-1914." These in turn are matched by the articles of J. S. Bastin and S. L. van der Wal, which are devoted respectively to the position of Britain and of the Netherlands as imperial powers in Southeast Asia in the nineteenth century. The collection is completed, appropriately enough, by "The Dutch Retreat from Empire," by H. Baudet, and "The British Retreat from Empire," by A. J. Hanna. These last two papers necessarily verge on journalism for the sources are not yet fully available and the topics cannot yet be treated with dispassion. Yet these conditions will presumably continue for many years, and Baudet and Hanna deserve applause for their pathfinding studies. Perhaps there will be room in a later volume to include, say, a paper from Professor Arasaratnam discussing the retreat from empire from the native point of view. It is to be hoped that this series will continue and that the brilliant example provided by Bromley and Kossmann will be followed by specialists in Anglo-French and Anglo-Spanish studies.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

STEPHEN B. BAXTER

A HEBRIDEAN IN GOETHE'S WEIMAR: THE REVEREND JAMES MACDONALD AND THE CULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN SCOTLAND AND GERMANY. By *Alexander Gillies*. (New York: Barnes and Noble, 1969. Pp. vii, 168. \$6.50.)

THE author, who has already written on Herder and Goethe, has produced here a carefully researched monograph that can serve both specialists and others interested in an intelligent observer's impression of a foreign land. The choice of subject is a good one: Macdonald, although not a thinker or personality of the first rank, was widely traveled, curious, observant, and opinionated; his interests and correspondence range over a broad variety of topics, including politics, philosophy, and literature, and he was in contact with important people in both countries during a time of political and intellectual ferment in both. He was, in brief, specially equipped to act as an intermediary and a formative influence, and Gillies tells about it skillfully and concisely.

And yet, this book does not fully live up to its subtitle. Too many questions relevant to the full determination of cultural relations are left unanswered or not posed at all: the extent to which Macdonald represented broad or typical currents of Scottish opinion and taste; the extent to which his reactions to German life and culture were in keeping with his personal, social, and national background or exerted an influence on his initial "Highland patriotism, his anti-Hanoverian, anti-Catholic, anti-Lowland, pro-French, pro-Whig sentiments." Above all what were the historical importance and objective worth of his observations and judgments, their depth, originality, and accuracy? What, for example, are we to make of this thought, expressed by Macdonald in a letter to Böttiger: "Herder's *Metakritik* is admirable. I am half afraid that some Kantian Ravaiillac may attempt his life; for his work is at least in the opinion of four good judges who have seen it here a death blow to the Kantian system"?

The whole story never tells itself; the historian has to help out.

University of Southern California

ROBERT ANCHOR

LA POLITIQUE D'ALLIANCES DU MARXISME (1848-1889). By *E. Molnár*. [Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae, Number 59.] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó. 1967. Pp. 440. \$14.00.)

ERIK Molnár (1894-1966), professor of law and first translator of *Das Kapital* into Hungarian, joined the illegal Communist party in 1928, and rose to powerful offices (Minister of Justice, Minister of Foreign Affairs) when Horthy's dictatorship gave way to Rákosi's. The abortive revolution in 1956 demoted him to the academic office of director of the Historical Institute at the Academy of Sciences and opened (or reopened) his mind (or his mouth). Whatever the complex causes may have been, during the last years of his life he repeatedly shocked the guardians of Communist orthodoxy by thinking about Marxism in public. In one book he argued that advanced capitalist economies will not collapse if they are intelligently managed; in another he showed that the Marxist philosophy of history is not the same thing as social science; and at his death he left the present book, a demonstration that the revolutionary yearnings of Marx and Engels were almost continuously at odds with the realities of their time.

This sweeping generalization is not directly stated. Perhaps Molnár intended to draw general conclusions in the second volume, which was to carry the subject from the founding of the Second International to the death of Lenin. (He managed to complete two chapters, which are printed as an appendix.) But he may well have intended to stay away from grand generalizations altogether, for one of his aims was to rescue the history of Marxism from simplistic schemes constructed to suit the current party line. Thus he told in great detail how Marx and Engels reacted to particular complexities, constantly changing their vision of the way that the working class might achieve political power and change capitalism to socialism. Each account of their views on a particular subject is preceded by an analysis of the subject as Molnár perceived it with the aid of hindsight. The result is an antiphonal history of Europe in the second half of the nineteenth century, with Molnár's disenchanted recitatives introducing the romantic arias of Marx and Engels.

"The politics of alliances" refers to much more than the little radical groups with which Marx and Engels were transiently involved. Like his heroes, Molnár correlates radical politics with alliances and conflicts not only among the major parties but also among bureaucracies, social classes, nationalities, and states. Space prohibits even a list of the many important topics that the book explores, from the embourgeoisement of the English working class, which Marx recognized but refused to believe permanent, to the role of nationality in history. Marx tried to make the latter subordinate to class relationships, and Molnár's reaction is not always clear.

Like Calvinism, Marxism refuses to die and be decently embalmed in a definitive work. Friends and enemies are still too many and too diverse, portraying Marx as everything from a Red Prussian to a brooding existentialist or a metaphysical democrat. (For the last, see Avineri's recent book.) Where Communist bosses consider the supreme virtue to be bullheadedness, Marx has become the sacred ancestral bull. Where Communists try to break away from this self-defeating totemism, fascinating books can appear. In Molnár's work, Marx and Engels emerge as thoughtful romantics, trying to find hope in the loathsome realities of a civilization on its way to the first total war and the first Communist revolution.

Northwestern University

DAVID JORAVSKY

ATTI DEL XLIII CONGRESSO DI STORIA DEL RISORGIMENTO ITALIANO (VENEZIA, 2-5 OTTOBRE 1966): (LA QUESTIONE VENETA E LA CRISI ITALIANA DEL 1866). [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Biblioteca scientifica. Atti dei Congressi, Volume XI.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1968. Pp. 307.)

IN order to commemorate the centennial of Italy's acquisition of Venice, the Forty-third Congress of the Institute for the History of the *Risorgimento* turned its attention to the events of 1866. The present volume contains its findings.

Roberto Cessi's opening essay, "The European and Italian Crisis from 1859 to 1866," provides a framework for subsequent specialized reports such as Richard Blaas's "Austria and the Venetian Problem." Blaas shows that Austrian public opinion recognized the importance of coming to terms with Italy, but the government proved unequal to the task. Rudolf Lill examines "The Italo-Prussian Alliance" and concludes that it played a key role in the Prussian victory over Austria. In turn, Georges Dethan reports on "France and the Venetian Question in 1866," claiming that the French position was largely determined by Napoleon's chagrin at not having fulfilled his promise to liberate northern Italy.

Gabriele De Rosa's analysis of "Venetian Society from 1866 to the Accession of the Left" is the most original and interesting piece in the volume. He describes Venetian society of the period as static, but capable of development because of the influence of an active clergy, the existence of small property, and an enlightened directing class. In addition, De Rosa reveals how Catholicism preserved its influence there by assuming new roles.

In other essays Noël Blakiston deals with "English Public Opinion and the Italian Question from 1859 to 1866," while Vladimir Nevler presents "Russian Documents on the Movement for the Reunification of Venice to Italy." The object of these works is to confirm the traditional historiography. The remaining essays, like the earlier ones, are well written, but present little new material. Piero Pieri describes "The Military Problem of 1866," attributing Italy's military failure to indecision, indiscretion, and disunity. Finally Fausto Fonzi delves into the political repercussions of the military disaster in his work on "The Italian Political Parties and the Polemic over 1866."

St. John's University, New York

FRANK J. COPPA

DEAREST MAMA: LETTERS BETWEEN QUEEN VICTORIA AND THE CROWN PRINCESS OF PRUSSIA, 1861-1864. Edited by *Roger Fulford*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1969. Pp. xii, 372. \$6.95.)

THE only thing that makes the publication of these letters at all significant is the exalted status of the writers. Victoria and her oldest daughter, the Crown Princess of Prussia, carried on a correspondence that by 1901 had reached massive proportions. The letters of "Vicki" to her mother fill sixty bound volumes of some four hundred pages each while those of the Queen are even more extensive. The letters published here are but a small fraction of this enormous total, and they cover the period from December 18, 1861, to July 6, 1864.

The first letter from the Queen to her daughter followed the death of Albert by four days. Of the several hundred letters, very few do not allude in some way to the departed husband and father. Indeed there is a degree of morbidity about much of the correspondence that the reader may find strange and oppressive. It is difficult to sym-

pathize with the "Victorian" mood of mourning that reached such depressing depths or to understand how the Queen, who suffered such anguish, should have been able to go on for another forty years.

For the most part the letters deal with the rather trivial matters that might be found in any mother-daughter correspondence. There is much about the comings and goings of members of the family. The editor has thoughtfully provided a list of familiar names that will prevent utter confusion on the part of the careful reader. Marriages are discussed, especially that of Edward to Alexandra, and the burdens of family life are disclosed or implied. On Victoria's side it is the frail character of Edward who has "fallen" and may be redeemed only through marriage; for Vicki it is the disability of her young son and difficulties with her husband's parents. For the most part they are small problems, but they burden "great" persons.

For the scholar who is looking for material on serious matters there is not much to be found, and what there is comes from Vicki's letters much more than from her mother's. The Crown Princess writes about the developing situation in Germany, the coming of Bismarck, the political difficulties of her husband "Fritz," and the war with Denmark. Her remarks are not penetrating, but they do provide a good record of the reactions of an English Princess to a situation that she finds "alien" to her instincts and traditions.

Readers would be ill advised to spend long sessions with the book. There is too much sameness about the letters, and they quickly become tiresome. They are usually brief, however, and, taken a few at a time, they become more interesting.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

JAMES L. GODFREY

IL SILLABO DI PIO IX E LA STAMPA FRANCESE, INGLESE E ITALIANA.

By *Egidio Papa*. [Collana di storia del movimento cattolico, Number 25.] ([Rome:] Edizioni Cinque Lune. 1968. Pp. 474. L. 3,200.)

ONE of the crises in the nineteenth-century conflict between Church and state, between the growing laicism of thought and the attempt on the part of the papacy to reassert its spiritual authority over men's minds, was the promulgation of the Syllabus of Errors by Pius IX on December 8, 1864, as an addendum to his encyclical *Quanta cura*. The eighty propositions contained in the Syllabus represented no new position toward what the Church considered the errors of the modern world, but drew upon previous encyclicals, apostolic letters, speeches, and briefs enunciated by Pius IX since the beginning of his pontificate in 1846. Yet the cumulative impact of the document was shattering, and the liberal press responded by castigating the papal pronouncement. Despite attempts of churchmen like Dupanloup and Darbois, archbishops of Orléans and Paris, respectively, to soften the tone of the papal indictment, the outcry continued. The clerical journals, led by the *Civiltà cattolica* and *Osservatore romano*, rose to the defense of Pope and Syllabus, and a bitter ideological conflict stiffened the position of both sides.

Papa has written a careful study of press reaction as it manifested itself in various European countries. He has concentrated on Parisian and Italian papers, placing less emphasis on German and Austrian journals and on the English press for which he refers the reader to McElrath's *The Syllabus of Pius IX: Some Reactions in England* (1964). While in France the quarrel between liberal Catholics and ultramontanes had a clearer ideological and religious flavor, the Roman question rather than doctrinal disputations colored the controversy in Italy. Many considered the encyclical and the

Syllabus the papal answer to the September Convention. The religious posture of the Church was interpreted in political terms within the framework of Italian problems. Papa's book thus serves a double purpose. It is a careful study of how press reaction to an important Church statement transcended questions of dogma and doctrine, and it brings out the uniquely Italian attitude toward Church policies in this period of Italy's road to nationhood. Not a book of general interest, it is, however, an important source for anyone who wishes to understand one of the basic areas of conflict in nineteenth-century Italian history—that between the emerging state and the established Church, which saw its political stature and independence seriously threatened and undermined. The book also illustrates well the conflicts among French Catholics and briefly reveals the extent of interest aroused by the Syllabus in England and the German countries.

University of Connecticut

EMILIANA P. NOETHER

VERSAILLES AND THE RUHR: SEEDBED OF WORLD WAR II. By *Royal J. Schmidt*. (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1968. Pp. 310. 36 gls.)

THE Ruhr crisis of 1923 was clearly one of the diplomatic landmarks of the 1920's, although it was not, perhaps, quite as crucial as the title of this recent monograph suggests. Since virtually all the official German, British, and American documents are now open to research, together with a wide range of private papers from leading statesmen, it is possible to write a fairly definitive account of these crucial events. Unfortunately, Professor Schmidt has not availed himself of the wealth of fresh documentation. Most of his information comes from published sources. The only manuscripts he consulted were the papers of some of the Americans involved in the crisis, and of such relatively peripheral figures as the French industrialist Louis Loucheur and the German Separatist Adam Dorten. The unpublished *Nachlass* of Gustav Stresemann has also been used, but rather haphazardly. More often the less complete published version of the *Nachlass* is cited, or the even more unreliable English translation. The list of secondary materials is quite incomplete. There is no mention of Arno Mayer's work on the Peace Conference, Ludwig Zimmermann's and Heinrich Euler's books on German foreign policy, Karl Dietrich Erdmann's study on Rhenish Separatism, or Pierre Renouvin's writings on postwar diplomacy, to mention only a few.

Given these limitations, it is not surprising that the book does not tell us much that we did not know before. The villain of the story, as expected, is Raymond Poincaré. The Germans are usually given the benefit of the doubt, and some of them, notably Hugo Stinnes, emerge with their reputations touched up. There is some useful material on public opinion in the major countries, but it is descriptive rather than analytical. The book, furthermore, suffers from the separate treatment of each nation's policy—French, British, German, and American, in that order. This method makes for some omissions in the earlier chapters and much repetition throughout. The author offers "some conclusions," but most of these are at best tentative; a study of the documents might have supplied firmer answers. To complete the reader's vexation, there are numerous typographical and spelling errors, especially of names, in this disappointing book.

Yale University

HANS W. GATZKE

- THEORIEN ÜBER DEN FASCHISMUS. Edited by *Ernst Nolte*. [Neue Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek, Number 21.] (Cologne: Kiepenheuer & Witsch. 1967. Pp. 513. DM 22.80.)
- DER FASCHISMUS VON MUSSOLINI ZU HITLER: TEXTE, BILDER UND DOKUMENTE. By *Ernst Nolte*. (Munich: Verlag Kurt Desch. 1968. Pp. 403.)
- DIE KRISE DES LIBERALEN SYSTEMS UND DIE FASCHISTISCHEN BEWEGUNGEN. By *Ernst Nolte*. (Munich: R. Piper & Co. Verlag. 1968. Pp. 475. DM 35.)

A study of fascism merits continued attention in a world faced by nondemocratic and totalitarian movements. While fascism died officially in Europe at the end of World War II, neofascist movements have maintained some strength in a number of countries since then. If in the future such movements are to be contained or nipped in the bud, it is essential to understand how fascist movements originated in the first place.

Ernst Nolte is one of the few authors who have provided more than the philosophy or history of an individual fascist movement. In four books he has made a comprehensive and comparative analysis of fascism in Europe, a movement that represents a significant phase in world history. To have contrasted variants of fascism in Japan and the Americas would have been of interest, but it would have increased the scope of investigation and research. The author, a professor of history at the University of Marburg, dissects the subject matter with objectivity and precision, yet with perhaps too much clinical detachment. He has relied primarily on an array of published works.

Nolte first received recognition in the United States with the publication, in 1966, of *Three Faces of Fascism*, which is a philosophically flavored account of the history and doctrine of the French *Action Française*, Italian Fascism, and German National Socialism (*AHR*, LIX [Apr. 1964], 741). Since then, three other volumes have followed in rapid succession, with the disadvantage that they were bound to duplicate each other in part. This does not, however, detract too greatly from the perusal of any one of them, since each treats the subject matter from a different perspective.

In *Theorien über den Faschismus* the author has edited a valuable anthology of twenty-four essays, excerpts from books, articles, and manifestoes published originally during the period from 1921 to 1961. In a lengthy introductory essay Nolte provides the necessary framework and critique for the fascist and antifascist writers who range from the obscure Giovanni Zibordi to the more prominent Joseph Goebbels and Harold J. Laski. While they write from widely disparate positions on the theories of fascism and obviously come to no accord, the selections do, however, tell us something about the revolutionary era in which each was written.

In *Der Faschismus von Mussolini zu Hitler*, Nolte produced a picture book for the mass public with a running commentary liberally interspersed with relevant documents. Once again he focuses on the fascist movements in Europe, with emphasis on Germany and Italy. The stark black-and-white photographs lend another dimension to an understanding of this era.

The author has capped and concluded his painstaking study of fascism in the recently published *Die Krise des liberalen Systems und die faschistischen Bewegungen*. As in his other books, he restricts his focus to the interwar years and to the European arena. He postulates the thesis that the bases of fascism are to be found in the reactions to the then existing liberal and Marxist political systems. As the most important precipitating factors, he cites World War I and the economic and social crises it evoked, the inability of Left and Center parties to gather enough electoral support, the

lack of revolutionary spirit among most workers, and the fear of Bolshevism. As a result, the fascist parties gained power in many countries of Central and Eastern Europe, and from 1934 on they began to cooperate actively across national boundaries. Such cooperation led to alarm in socialist and Communist circles especially, to the formation of the popular front in France, to support for the Loyalists in the Spanish Civil War, to Allied cooperation during World War II, and to the resistance movements in various countries. In the end the antifascist coalition was victorious. The military defeat of the Axis Powers led to the swift demise of fascist movements throughout much of Europe.

On the whole, the historic aspects of this first section of the book are well known. The author has, however, provided valuable insights, comparisons, and analyses. If he had dealt more with the socioeconomic substructures and the typology of the party systems of the countries, another dimension would have been added.

The second but shorter section provides the reader with an invaluable country-by-country survey of individual fascist movements in more than two dozen countries of Europe. Nolte includes only those parties which after World War I stood on the anti-Bolshevik radical Right of the political spectrum. Their shared characteristics included a pragmatic orientation, a "love for uniforms," a sympathy for Mussolini and Hitler, and an emphasis on the leadership principle. He also includes the most important neo- and pseudofascist movements that shared some of these characteristics.

As a result, the reader becomes aware of how easily the malady of fascism spread across Europe from its power center of Germany and Italy. He must find it most depressing, especially if he reflects on the gullibility of the millions of individuals who swallowed this irrational ideology, often with enthusiasm. Will the new generation learn from the past?

University of Massachusetts

GERARD BRAUNTHAL

POLITICS AND THE PUBLIC INTEREST IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By *J. A. W. Gunn*. [Studies in Political History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1969. Pp. xii, 355. \$8.75.)

PROFESSOR Gunn has set out to analyze the views of a number of seventeenth-century Englishmen on what constituted the public interest and how it could be distinguished from private or individual interests. His work is comprehensive and exhaustive; it is not surprising that it is inconclusive since modern political scientists find it difficult to define the sphere of "the public interest." My task would be more pleasant, in every way, if I could also say that it is an interesting or stimulating book, but it is neither. Nor, I suspect, is it particularly significant. Most striking is the absence from Gunn's chosen authorities of anybody who actually *did* anything in the seventeenth century, that is, anybody who was in politics. If Clarendon, James I, Charles I, Ireton, Cromwell, and others did in fact pronounce on the public interest, their opinions, obviously, are worth extended treatment; if they did not, it suggests that the question was of no great interest to contemporaries and that its investigation in the context of the seventeenth century is mere antiquarianism.

The small part played by religion in this book is also surprising. I am not thinking of religious toleration, which is fully dealt with in Chapter iv, but of religion as a framework for political thought. The continuing importance of Filmer's concept of patriarchalism suggests the importance of such concepts. Hobbes, of course, will always

be important as long as men think about politics and the state, but, as Gunn admits, contemporaries were almost unanimous in rejecting him. They apparently did not notice John Hall, a man so obscure that he has to be distinguished from other men of the same name by the appellation "Hall of Richmond." A whole chapter is allotted to Harrington, surely the most overrated writer in this century, whose meandering ideas are pursued through what Gunn himself admits to be a "morass of undefined terms." The weight that is placed on authorities like this confirms the suspicion that there is no validity in the basic question at issue.

University of Hull

J. P. KENYON

THE POLITICAL THOUGHT OF JOHN LOCKE: AN HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE ARGUMENT OF THE 'TWO TREATISES OF GOVERNMENT.' By *John Dunn*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1969. Pp. xiii, 290. \$10.00.)

THE central thesis of this highly original and brilliantly argued study is that Locke's political thought is essentially the product of a Calvinist natural theology. The individualism central to Locke's politics is thus shown to have an essentially religious rather than a social basis, while the whole account of legitimate political society is thus shown to hinge on Locke's beliefs about God's purposes for men. This thesis is introduced in a chapter on "The Premises of the Argument" and underpins the whole of Part III of Dunn's book. It is taken up again at the end, in Part V, which first provides a very sensitive corroborative account of Locke's concern with the Calvinist doctrine of the Calling and finally illustrates rather poignantly the central place that this complex of ideas held in Locke's anxious and questing emotional as well as intellectual life. As this analysis proceeds, many new insights about Locke's political thought emerge. Dunn argues in Chapter ix that commentators have misunderstood Locke's concept of the state of nature by treating it as a piece of hypothetical sociology. It is seen here as basically an account of the moral condition into which men are naturally placed by God. Similarly, he argues in Chapter x that the place of Consent in Locke's politics has been misunderstood. It cannot have been intended as an account of the basis of legitimate government since this is provided by the laws of nature given by God; it can only be an account of how men come to be obliged. Both these claims are new, and they are most convincingly argued.

Dunn presents these claims in turn as the outcome of a more general theory concerned with the proper method of studying this type of classic text. The aim, it is said at the outset, should be to recover the terms in which the author saw his own work and thus determine the meaning it had for him. This welding together of conceptual and historical argument makes the book hard to read, especially as the language is frequently rather technical and highly allusive. The approach is sustained, however, with wit as well as considerable philosophical sophistication, and it is firmly based on prodigious absorption in the sources. It also provides an explicit rationale for the whole of Dunn's thesis, as well as the justification for his claim to have provided "an historical account" of Locke's argument. Finally, this method is applied in Part IV, "The Coherence of a Mind," as a means of denouncing and dismissing both the prevailing interpretations of Locke's politics: the "liberal" analysis of the text (Plamenatz and Seliger) as well as the Marxist attempt to explain it (Macpherson). Both schools of thought are equally, and very persuasively, impaled on the allegation that neither pro-

vides an account of Locke's meaning which the author himself could in principle have recognized. More important, however, than these polemics (which are somewhat lengthy and rancorous) is the fact that Dunn's approach yields something entirely new in Locke scholarship: a full-length portrait of Locke's mind, shown in its evolution and in all its stresses and inconsistencies. The result is a book equally outstanding in its learning and its intelligence.

Christ's College, Cambridge

QUENTIN SKINNER

THE CORRESPONDENCE OF HENRY OLDENBURG. Volume IV, 1667-1668; Volume V, 1668-1669; Volume VI, 1669-1670. Edited and translated by *A. Rupert Hall* and *Marie Boas Hall*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1967; 1968; 1969. Pp. xxv, 601; xxvi, 604; xxviii, 660. \$12.50 each.)

HENRY Oldenburg was one of those figures, minor in the grand sweep of the history of science, who nevertheless rendered vital service to the social organization of science. In the period before the establishment of the *Philosophical Transactions*, Oldenburg was among the diligent correspondents who served as a clearinghouse for scientific information by, as Glanvill put it, "the maintaining of Philosophical Intelligence." As secretary of the Royal Society of London he was in a strategic situation to continue as an "intelligencer" of science and a promoter of the new philosophy.

Professor A. R. Hall and Dr. M. B. Hall have performed the arduous task of collecting, translating, and annotating Oldenburg's stupendous correspondence. They have drawn upon a large number of published sources and manuscript collections to provide as complete an edition of Oldenburg's papers as now seems possible. Volumes IV through VI include the years 1667 through the first third of 1670, years following the initiation of the *Philosophical Transactions* (1665) and during a vigorous activity on the part of the Royal Society.

While at first glance it would seem that Oldenburg's role as intermediary between scientific researchers and disputants might decline abruptly owing to the success of the *Philosophical Transactions*, the letters indicate a serious continuance of that role; indeed, as the editors note, the correspondence reaches a peak in the first half of 1668 only to decline slowly afterward. One can, nonetheless, detect a slight shift in orientation. It is true that Oldenburg continued to supply a relatively rapid means of exchange of criticism (as, for example, on the continuing concern of Wallis, Neile, Huygens, Wren, and others to establish laws of mechanics). Oldenburg seems, however, to have fully emerged in yet another role, the international promoter of the ideals and goals of the Royal Society.

In letter after letter, to Borelli and Malpighi in Italy, Huet at Caen, Norwood in Bermuda, Curtius, Vogel, and Mentzel in Germany, and to many others, Oldenburg pressed the aims of the society as he saw them, each letter echoing the others: "[I]t aims at the improvement of all usefull Sciences and arts, not by meer speculations, but by exact and faithfull Observations and Experiments," by compiling "a universal history of nature," for which "it is necessary to unite the brains, hands, and powers of all peoples" in an enduring cooperation. It was Oldenburg's strength to see in the scientific endeavor a corporate enterprise and to act upon that vision.

The Halls have produced an edition that keeps the scholar carefully in mind. The index is full and easily used. The notes are helpful; the cross references are invaluable, and the editors have thoughtfully included their hypotheses where certainty was im-

possible. All concerned with a fuller understanding of the seventeenth century are indebted to the editors and to the University of Wisconsin Press for so useful and so handsome a set of books.

Johns Hopkins University

ROBERT H. KARGON

THE DARIEN DISASTER: A SCOTS COLONY IN THE NEW WORLD, 1698-1700. By *John Prebble*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1969. Pp. 366. \$6.95.)

THIS latest chronicle in Mr. Prebble's expanding library of Scottish disasters continues his story of a nation oppressed. The author attributes the attempt to establish a colony and trading post on the Isthmus of Panama in 1698 primarily to the Scots' urgent need for release from political and religious tyranny. Apparently he is unaware of the constitutional and religious freedom achieved by the Scots in their revolutionary settlement of the preceding decade. According to Prebble, the fever-ridden jungle of Darien never became the trading hub of the world chiefly because of opposition from King William III, his English Secretary of State, James Vernon, and those "time-serving representatives" of the Scottish Estates who climaxed their perfidy by selling out to the malevolent English in the political union of 1707. This repetition of Lockhart's unsupported allegation is typical of the author's inadequate understanding of Scottish politics and the international scene. William's efforts to gain acceptance of his Partition Treaty and the fact that Darien was located within Spanish territory are scarcely mentioned. Prebble's own vivid, detailed narrative in effect, however, indicts the Scots themselves. Their unrealistic venture contained an unusual amount of self-imposed misery resulting from inadequate planning, incompetent direction, and incessant quarreling, capped by the dishonorable abandonment of the whole enterprise in 1700.

The constant shifting of the scene between Scotland and Darien detracts from an otherwise absorbing drama of unheroic tragedy told in a lively style and unencumbered by any references, even for extended quotations. The bibliography is full, but does not indicate the author's admitted use of current Scottish nationalism as a source material. Although this is the first detailed account of the colony itself, many of the author's generalizations do not reflect the results of modern research; consequently the value of this work is limited.

Central Washington State College

ROBERT P. BARNES

CAPTAIN SWING. By *E. J. Hobsbawm* and *George Rudé*. (New York: Pantheon Books. 1968. Pp. 384. \$7.95.)

THE HANDLOOM WEAVERS: A STUDY IN THE ENGLISH COTTON INDUSTRY DURING THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION. By *Duncan Bythell*. With an introduction by *R. M. Hartwell*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 301. \$12.50.)

THE widespread suffering of segments of the working classes during periods of economic progress poses a delicate problem for the historian. Should one dwell on the wretched hovels of farm laborers and the pitiful diets of handloom weavers or note the productivity of enclosed farms and the efficiency of power looms? The good historian, of course, does both, as do *E. J. Hobsbawm* and *George Rudé* in their study of the English agricultural riots of 1830 and as does *Duncan Bythell* in his study of the

handloom weavers in early nineteenth-century England. But no historian can be perfectly balanced in his emphasis. For Hobsbawm and Rudé, the suffering is paramount; hence the fate of the farm laborer was "tragic, perhaps of all classes of English society the most tragic." In 1830 they were "desperately poor, unemployed, helpless, hopeless." For Bythell, progress was paramount; hence the suffering of the handloom weavers in those years was "really very localized and most of [them] . . . were absorbed into alternative employment with remarkable speed and ease." The power loom was thus "a blessing and not a curse."

The tone of these judgments makes it clear to which historical traditions these authors belong: Hobsbawm and Rudé, to the socialist tradition that runs from Friedrich Engels to E. P. Thompson; Bythell, to the capitalist tradition that runs from Andrew Ure to R. M. Hartwell. Both traditions have produced excellent histories, as these two works once again prove, but both also often reflect some very strong biases. The question is, how seriously do these biases mar the works? The answer, for Hobsbawm and Rudé, is hardly at all; for Bythell, it is more so but not seriously.

Hobsbawm and Rudé, for example, in order to underline the sufferings of 1830 speak too romantically of the old village with "its mutual aid and social obligation" and "squire as paternal protector." But this nostalgia detracts little from their description of the breakdown of the older, more stable world before the new forces of capitalist agriculture. That breakdown occurred in the east and south of England, the cereal areas, where farmers, growing richer and shrewder, ran their farms according to the cash nexus. The laborers, who had once eaten at the farmer's table and worked on a yearly basis, now became a "proletariate" of casual workers, paid by the week and that badly, banished to dismal cottages, and easily let off in the winter. The widespread use of poor relief to supplement wages mitigated their lot, but increasingly made them dependent. Furthermore, by 1830 poor relief per capita was down one-quarter from the averages of 1815-1820. Underemployed, wretchedly paid, and dependent on a shrinking relief, it is little wonder that, with the advent of the threshing machine, bad harvests, and talk of revolutions in France and reform in England, the helpless and hopeless in twenty-two counties took to midnight marches, rick burnings, intimidation, and the breaking of threshing machines.

Hobsbawm and Rudé analyze the outbreak of those riots and describe their spread, repression, and aftermath with a sophistication of judgment and a crispness of interpretation that reflect two seasoned and veteran historians, and with a compassion that also does credit to their socialist tradition.

Bythell's study is not as elegant or refined, but it is sturdy, solid, probing. Bythell makes it clear that handloom weaving was never a skilled craft; that casual laborers, including women and children, could easily enter it; that, once one was accustomed to it, it was hard to leave; that it became overcrowded and competitive; and that, given the instability of foreign markets, it suffered periods of distress. Even before the power loom, even in the golden age, there were misery and poverty. Any alternative employment, even in the power loom mills, was thus a "blessing."

Bythell marshals his evidence for this interpretation with considerable cogency. That the power loom, like machinery in general, brought more prosperity than misery is an incontrovertible fact. But the human suffering involved in that transition was also incontrovertible. For many the power loom was a curse. Bythell occasionally recognizes this fact, but there are other times when he treats it rather tentatively. The tentativeness stems in part from a deficiency of data about conditions, but it also involves his bias. Take, for example, his denunciation of John Fielden's select com-

mittee of 1835, which exposed the suffering of the weavers, and his praise of Nassau Senior's royal commission of 1841, which sided with the power loom. "The first," Bythell says, "chose the facts to fit the case; the second merely sought to establish what had really happened." It is unfortunate that Senior's sense of what really happened included a fervid denunciation of trade unions as more tyrannous than any despotism in history. Actually, both Fielden and Senior were partial. Fielden was moved by the weavers' suffering, and Senior was angered by their interference with economic progress. Suffering and progress were both realities of the revolutions in industry and agriculture. Bythell knows this, and his case for the power loom as a blessing is strong. All the more reason, then, that he should not weaken it by gratuitous snipings at those critics who dwell on the hardships: Fielden, the Hammonds, Thompson. But, fortunately, these snipings do no serious damage. His study, like that of Hobsbawm and Rudé, really belongs far less to a socialist or capitalist tradition than to a larger and growing tradition, a tradition defined by those historians of England's revolution in agriculture and industry who see all the complexities involved in that great transformation.

Dartmouth College

DAVID ROBERTS

NAPOLÉON'S ST. HELENA. By *Gilbert Martineau*. Translated from the French by *Frances Partridge*. (Chicago: Rand McNally and Company. 1969. Pp. xiv, 241. \$6.95.)

ALTHOUGH hundreds of volumes have been written about Napoleon's captivity on St. Helena, M. Martineau's book introduces new and relevant information on this over-worked topic. This study cannot compete with the detailed multivolume works concerning Napoleon's day-by-day activities on St. Helena, but it does present an original and important primary source as well as a new approach and emphasis. The most significant contribution of this study is the use of the previously unpublished journal of Major Gideon Gorrequer, acting military secretary of Governor Sir Hudson Lowe. Also of major importance is the author's careful analysis of the class structure on the island and its modifications following Napoleon's arrival. With the influx of thousands of soldiers and sailors, administrators, and a new governor, the inhabitants of St. Helena found their island transformed into an armed camp, with their rights severely curtailed. Indeed, the political, social, and economic life of the island was seriously threatened by the dislocation and friction among the classes. The author also presents a vivid description of the mundane pursuits of the islanders and a firsthand account of the topography and climate of the island.

Supporters of Lowe will find little comfort in this work. In fact, with the information derived from Gorrequer's journal, the governor appears more spiteful and paranoiac than usually portrayed. Contrary to contemporary opinion, Gorrequer bitterly resented his master and was sympathetic to Napoleon; moreover, his comments about Lowe were far from flattering. He described him as "ridiculously vain . . . strutting like a peacock." When Napoleon was less than a month from death, the tactless governor commented to him, "If a person was to go in there and make a clamour it would be the most likely thing to revive him."

The last chapter, written for inclusion in the English edition of the book, is the weakest one in the volume. In it Martineau has adopted a theory propounded by Dr. R. Turner who, after a cursory examination of the various hypotheses explaining Napoleon's death, maintained as a result of the captivity, "only the corrosion of the

soul, asphyxiation of the spirit and consequent degeneration of the body could occur. The peculiar psychological situation leading to the physical deterioration is thus, in my opinion, the main factor which contributed to his final end." Unfortunately, this theory is highly questionable and most difficult to prove. At times awkward translations mar the text, and the lack of footnotes is regrettable.

Florida State University

DONALD D. HORWARD

THE GLADSTONE DIARIES. Volume I, 1825-1832; Volume II, 1833-1839. Edited by M. R. D. Foot. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xlix, 596; 699. \$41.00 the set.)

PROFESSOR Foot begins his introduction to the first two volumes of Gladstone's diaries with Morley's caveat: "that his subject was not equipped with 'much or any of the rare talents of the born diarist.'" No Pepys, no Greville, Gladstone himself declared his diary a mere "account-book of the all-precious gift of time." Foot rightly insists that it is more than that. Scholars of Victorian England will discover in it much about the man whose own name might well attach to that period he so completely epitomized.

The story of the diary's publication is itself a Victorian miniature. Though Morley had seen it and quoted, inaccurately, from it, Gladstone's sons withdrew it from the mass of correspondence they donated to the British Museum. Their reason, in Herbert Gladstone's words, lay in the fact of the diary's "introspections, its spiritual misgivings and self accusations and in the fact that confessions of human weakness are definitely connected with the other sex." The journal remained at Harwarden until 1928, when at the suggestion of Archbishop Cosmo Gordon Lang, who had pondered its final disposition while marooned in the castle during the general strike, it was deposited, in the presence of Archbishops Lang and Davidson, in the Lambeth Palace Library. There it rested, the property of Davidson and his successors, to be viewed only at their discretion. Removed for safekeeping during the war to the wine cellars of Christ Church, it remained unavailable until 1955, when, in a chance encounter at the Athenæum, Tilney Bassett, the Gladstone family archivist, broached the subject of publication with Archbishop Fisher. That meeting resulted, in time, in the selection of Foot as editor and, finally, in the present edition, which comprises not only the private diary but, interspersed, a series of travel journals as well.

Foot justifies publication of the entire diary with several sound reasons: that "almost every word in it is likely to be of some use to somebody"; that, given the sameness of the entries, it would be impossible on logical grounds to exclude some and not others; and indeed that the very sameness of those entries, taken in their entirety, will help scholars understand the mind of the man who wrote them at the end of every day for over seventy years.

These two volumes carry their author's story through the period of his first years in government and his marriage to Catherine Glynne. Eton, though under the birch of the tiny tyrant Keate, managed nonetheless to captivate the boy from Liverpool. Work went forward, at one's own pace, and in Gladstone's case, at a pace formidable enough to warrant Hawtrey's and even Keate's approval. Afternoons he read or sculled with Hallam. Only Monterm was a bore, only irreverence a cause for concern. Christ Church, in its appointed time, extended but did not interrupt the pattern Eton imposed. The ease with which the merchant's son took a place in London society and politics resulted from his readiness to suit himself to that pattern.

Yet in London he did not leave Liverpool behind. John Gladstone helped see to that. The early conservatism, the opposition to the Reform Bill and to the abolition of slavery were natural results of John's assumed right to dominate his son, and of William's ready acquiescence in his father's will. It was in his religion, rather than in his political utterances, however, that William showed himself the true provincial. Seriousness and self-doubt, confession and self-renewal—the baggage of middle-class evangelicalism traveled with him from Liverpool wherever he went. Religion lies at the heart of the diary and binds it together. Critical of the Frenchman De Véricour for treating Milton's religion extrinsically—"as if Christianity were on the stage and we in the boxes"—he labored so as not to make the same mistake himself. Ceaseless concern imparts to his thoughts an unrelieved seriousness of purpose, and to the leaves of his journal, therefore, a cumbersome humorlessness that is as difficult to tolerate as it is important to understand.

The conscientious reader begins to wish that Gladstone had more often expressed disapproval, as he did in the case of Chesterfield, with a direct and simple "pfui!" Nor are the religious sentiments enlivened by much real theological debate. St. Peter's impressed him; he listened to Wiseman and conjectured with Manning. There are traces of High-churchmanship, but little more.

One looks for other signs and portents; the temptation is great to make too much of casual remarks about the "generally inconsequent" Irish and the corrupt Sicilians. Liberalism lies in the volumes yet to come. So, too, the sexual material that so worried the diarist's executors, and that pertains, Foot tells us, to Gladstone's work with prostitutes. Sex, in the present instance, is confined to some very human entries relating to the courtship, first of Caroline Farquhar, then of Lady Frances Douglas, and finally of Catherine Glynne.

The diaries supplement, but in no substantial way alter, the impression one receives of Gladstone in Morley's *Life*, an impression less full but naturally less fragmented. Foot's attempt to knit together the pieces with an elaborate system of annotations is generally successful. Two requests, however, for future volumes in the series: a more complete index and an indication, by each entry, of place as well as date. Foot dismisses this last suggestion in his introduction, but scholars will thank him if he will change his mind.

University of Texas, Austin

STANDISH MEACHAM

THE COLLECTED WORKS OF WALTER BAGEHOT. Edited by *Norman St. John-Stevas*. Volumes I and II, THE LITERARY ESSAYS. With an introduction by *Sir William Haley*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1965. Pp. 476; 400. \$17.50 the set.)

DR. Norman St. John-Stevas has done his work excellently. He has arranged Bagehot's writings, not chronologically but according to their subject matter, and the first two volumes contain all of the literary essays. The editor's preface is clear and interesting; his notes are brief and accurate. His threefold index is, on the whole, serviceable, and there are remarkably few misprints and mistakes. St. John-Stevas' biography of Bagehot is invitingly labeled "a *short* biography," yet, though it is short in comparison with the editor's own magnum opus, it fills fifty-four solid pages here, sometimes with trifling anecdotes. There is yet another preliminary section called "Walter Bagehot: A Literary Appreciation" by Sir William Haley, in twenty-two pages; it is extremely well done and elegantly written, but it is difficult to see why the

reader has to be told in detail beforehand either what he is going to find in the book or what he should admire most. Haley's comments are often perceptive and shrewd.

Some of Bagehot's essays have long been recognized as valuable contributions to criticism; among the best and most famous are the articles on Shakespeare, on "The First Edinburgh Reviewers," on Macaulay, Shelley, Milton, Lady Mary Wortley Montagu, and Clough, and the ambitious essay called "Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Browning; Or, Pure, Ornate, and Grotesque Art in English Poetry." All of the papers in these two volumes were originally published as reviews of recent books or as obituaries. But in Bagehot's days a reviewer did not feel called upon to discuss the works being reviewed or hardly even to mention them except in a perfunctory note at the beginning. Bagehot himself had thought intelligently about the problems of literary criticism; he wrote, for instance: "The only way to criticise a work of the imagination, is to describe its effect upon the mind of the reader,—at any rate, of the critic. . . . the poet paints a picture on the fancy of the critic, and the critic has in some sort to copy it on the paper."

Among his weaker points may be mentioned his rambling progress through his longer essays, his occasional pedantically jocular phrases, especially in his early period, when a boy was a "pomivorous animal" and a good cook had "larderiferous qualities" conducive to "tea-tabular felicity," and an inordinate passion for pairs, symmetries, and antitheses ("There are two kinds of poetry"; "There are two methods on which biography may consistently be written") of which there is one pleasantly eccentric illustration: "Writers, like teeth, are divided into incisors and grinders. Sydney Smith was a 'molar.'" Bagehot is also addicted to lame endings: "We may end as we began"; "Our limits are exhausted, and we must pause"; or, after three pages of uninterrupted quotation, "Something more we had to say of Mr. Browning, but we must stop." Nor was his critical judgment faultless; he hated modern literature, despised France, and sincerely believed that Dickens in his later novels and Tennyson in *Maud* stooped to conquer or at least to please their less cultivated readers.

Bagehot's strength as a literary critic was, however, great. For one thing, he had a genuine passion for literature. He responded to poetry, which he attempted to define: "We only have poetry when the imagination utters melodiously the thrilling dictates of the inward soul, or delineates in its 'painted words,' some object in nature that is sublime or grand, or else some character of loftier aspect than we find within us, than any we see around us." He had a remarkable gift for coining terse and telling phrases. He could draw vivid portraits such as the one of Guizot. He had some shrewd remarks to make about English literature in general and about individual writers. Reluctant as he is to praise Dickens, he writes: "He describes London like a special correspondent for posterity," and his analysis of Mr. Pickwick's character is among the best ever written. He had a real talent for satire and pastiche, making Lord John Russell speak like Mr. Micawber. Also, he was often pleasantly humorous, in his poker-faced way: "Literature enables nations to understand one another. Oral intercourse hardly does this. In English a distinguished foreigner says not what he thinks, but what he can."

Apart from a few brief reviews of ephemeral novels, all the essays so ably edited in these volumes make pleasant and profitable reading.

University of Paris

SYLVÈRE MONOD

GREAT BRITAIN AND THE TAIPINGS. By *J. S. Gregory*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1969. Pp. xvi, 271. \$8.50.)

THIS short, well-documented work refutes many previous concepts of British motives for intervening in China's Taiping rebellion in an effort to show "how mid-Victorian Britain reacted to a particular kind of problem—whether to intervene or not in a domestic military struggle in an area of potential rather than immediately vital economic interest." The author traces British official policy from the adoption of a "watch and wait" neutrality in 1853, through a growing sympathy for the Manchu government in 1861, to limited intervention from 1862 to 1864 in that government's behalf, chiefly for the protection of the treaty ports. Neither the Manchus nor the British favored extensive foreign assistance. The former feared demands for compensation for such help; the latter wished to avoid involvement in the breakdown of all authority in China, which might require it to assume costly military and governmental responsibilities such as had been forced on it in India. A Manchu victory was already foreseen when Britain intervened. It was hoped that intervention would hasten that victory and the stabilization of China in order to further the growth of the Anglo-China trade although that trade had not been seriously hindered by the rebellion. The influence of officials in China on these final policy decisions in London is fully recognized, the views of merchants, missionaries, and the English press are recorded, and fresh lights are thrown on the operations of familiar Far Eastern appointees, such as Sir John Bowring, Admiral Sir James Hope, W. H. Medhurst, and H. N. Lay, as well as "the humane and farsighted" if unsuccessful policy of Britain's first minister in Peking, Sir Frederick Bruce.

The book is well planned and clearly written. Its appendix includes several formerly unpublished documents, and its excellent bibliography will be valued by all students of Anglo-Chinese relations in the nineteenth century.

Washington, D.C.

GRACE FOX

THE BRITISH IMAGE OF INDIA: A STUDY IN THE LITERATURE OF IMPERIALISM 1880-1960. By *Allen J. Greenberger*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1969. Pp. viii, 234. \$6.25.)

THIS is in many ways a valuable and even a fascinating study. It goes some distance toward filling out the too frequently arid pages of textbooks, official memoirs, monographs, and similar historical accounts that normally fail to capture the spirit and the life, not to mention the sentiment, of an era.

Mr. Greenberger has based his study of the British image of India on a reading of something like 120 works of fiction, mostly novels. He divides his study into three periods: an "Era of Confidence, 1880-1910"; an "Era of Doubt, 1910-1935"; and an "Era of Melancholy, 1935-1960," the latter being treated largely as an epilogue.

For each era the author relies heavily upon quotations from and paraphrases of the novels and short stories he examines. From these materials he constructs an interpretation of the dominant themes and the major preoccupations that characterized British popular writing about India in the era of Bithia Mae Croker, Rudyard Kipling, Flora Ann Steel, G. A. Henty, A. E. W. Mason, Dennis Kincaid, Thomas A. Guthrie, F. W. Bain, L. Adams Beck, E. M. Forster, Maud Diver, Edward Thompson, George Orwell, Edmund Candler, Talbot Mundy, Gordon Casserly, Philip Mason, and others.

It is surprising that several of the themes that figure so prominently in this fiction about the British in India, or about British India, mirror faithfully prominent theses that were being advanced by high officials of the British raj in official and semiofficial documents and papers in the same years. This raises an interesting question that is not answered here: did the view of the British role, or of the Indian character in question, stem from official dogma that disseminated out into popular literature where it became "folk wisdom," or did the folk wisdom of Henty and others form the basis for the world view enunciated in official documents by governors-general and members of the council?

A considerable value of the book is that it recalls clearly the often unconscious but clear racism that permeated so much of the published literature by English authors about Indians. Small wonder that the nationalists became embittered so soon and in such numbers. The white man certainly went out of his way to render his rule unpalatable.

Despite its considerable virtues and its sustained level of high interest, the volume suffers from an inadequate measure of analytical treatment. The author seems, on the whole, satisfied to describe and to categorize the fascinating and revealing literature with which he deals. Too rarely does he deal with it in a probing, analytical fashion as a means of penetrating squarely into the major issues underlying the convoluted Indo-British connection. He often touches upon these issues, but does not get at them in any depth. This is, nonetheless, a good book and well repays the reader.

Syracuse University

ROBERT I. CRANE

THE LIBERAL PARTY AND THE JAMESON RAID. By *Jeffrey Butler*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 336. \$7.00.)

PROFESSOR Butler justifies another book on the Jameson Raid on the ground that important recent scholarship on the subject has not dealt adequately with the political forces operating in Britain at the time. Butler's beautifully documented monograph is a detailed account of how the Liberal leaders reacted to the raid and how they dealt with the problem of South Africa. The theme has special significance because Sir William Harcourt and other Liberal leaders have been severely criticized, by both contemporaries and historians, for their failure to make the South Africa Committee produce a meaningful investigation of the raid, including the involvement of Joseph Chamberlain and the imperial government. The book, a model of thorough and accurate scholarship, is based primarily on an exhaustive study of the private papers of the Liberal leaders and other statesmen. The author has also mastered the rich historiography of the subject.

Butler absolves the Liberal leaders of "connivance" with Chamberlain, but, without using the phrase, accepts the view of Jean van der Poel and Elizabeth Pakenham that the Liberal attitude is explained by "reasons of state." Harcourt was strongly moved by the desire for national solidarity at a moment of bad relations with both Germany and the United States. He was, moreover, more concerned with the future—with better relations with the Transvaal—than with disclosures about the past. The Liberal leaders were convinced that Chamberlain was not guilty of essential wrongdoing. Rhodes was the enemy to be brought down. In contrast with Chamberlain's superb political skill, the Liberals were divided and confused. Harcourt was closer to Chamberlain than to Rosebery, and the Liberals had no common plan of action.

Harcourt was thinking in terms of front bench statesmanship and was out of touch with Liberal back bench opinion, and hence with public opinion.

Butler himself is inadequate on Liberal opinion outside official circles. His extensive research does not include a study of Liberal newspapers and journals of the day. This is a serious weakness in assessing what "the Liberal party," as opposed to the Liberal leaders, thought. The book will have more appeal to those interested in the Jameson Raid and in South African affairs than to those interested in the Liberal party. The subject is exceedingly complex, and even Butler's search for clarity does not remove the existence of a labyrinthian maze. More judicious than original in its conclusions, this thorough work is an authoritative study of a deliberately limited historical theme.

Ripon College

JOHN F. GLASER

THE LAST LIBERAL GOVERNMENTS: THE PROMISED LAND, 1905-1910.

By *Peter Rowland*. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1969. Pp. xviii, 404. \$8.95.)

PETER Rowland's thesis in this curiously old-fashioned book, "that the erosion of support for the Liberal Party in the years which followed 1906 arose from the fact that it was doing too little rather than too much," is hardly an exceptional point of view. For some time now, English historians have been no more willing to take the "New Liberalism" at its own valuation than American historians have the "New Deal." Whether one agrees with Dangerfield or Jenkins or Gollin or whomever, it is, for example, hardly possible any longer to see Edward Grey as he was portrayed by a G. M. Trevelyan or Herbert Asquith through the contemporary spectacles of a J. A. Spender. To that extent, then, Rowland is in the mainstream of interpretation rather than in any daringly revisionist posture that may one day become the accepted canon.

This first of a projected two volumes covers (and I use the word deliberately) the activities of the Liberal governments in cabinet and in Parliament on an almost day-to-day basis. From the election of December 1905 until that of December 1910, "foreign" and "domestic" affairs are alternately paraded across the pages of as detailed a narrative as has appeared in quite some time. But what is detailed, as I have just suggested, is concerned with cabinet and Parliament and, from time to time, the intimate discussions of Liberal ministers, their Conservative counterparts, or combinations of both. Almost never do we read of what is going on out of doors, except when one of the elections intervenes, and even here there is relatively little in the way of an attempt to probe freshly into those contests. Instead, we have a volume unnecessarily overloaded, in text and in footnotes, with quotations (some revealing and important, others that should have been digested rather than regurgitated). There is even an appendix of some twenty letters, selected, it would seem, on a principle of availability rather than importance in more instances than should have been the case.

To be sure, Rowland has made good use of the Campbell-Bannerman Papers and has added to these much enlightening material from the Balfour, Herbert Gladstone, and Ripon Papers, as well as the results of an obviously industrious scrutiny of the published documents, memoirs, and secondary works. But in the final reckoning he has produced a thorough and even useful descriptive account of who said what to whom, and of what happened in Parliament, rather than any real explanation or even account of the phenomenon he is obviously aiming to elucidate. On the very last page of his conclusions, he comments: "Liberalism as a genuine political force was on its last legs. The failure to devise a clear-cut programme of reforms reflecting a

basic Liberal philosophy (always assuming, of course, that this was possible) meant that the life of the party had to be prolonged by periodic stimulants." Most observers would agree with Rowland that the last Liberal governments, despite the Lloyd Georges and the Churchills (the former of whom I think he treats with less than adequate understanding), looked back to the world of the nineteenth century rather than forward to that of the twentieth. But so, for that matter, did the Conservatives, and, if I read Philip Poirier correctly, so too did most of the fledgling Labour party. What we need to know more about is why this should have been so and why it turned out to be impossible for the Liberals to make the adjustments required for their survival, particularly, as time went on, in face of the Labour alternative. Some of the clues are to be found in this first volume by Rowland, but I suspect that it will be more often used as a reference work to check on matters of detail than as an interpretive essay to stimulate further investigation of the spectacular rise and fall of the not so new "New Liberalism."

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HENRY R. WINKLER

THE COLLECTED ESSAYS, JOURNALISM AND LETTERS OF GEORGE ORWELL. Volume I, AN AGE LIKE THIS, 1920-1940; Volume II, MY COUNTRY RIGHT OR LEFT, 1940-1943; Volume III, AS I PLEASE, 1943-1945; Volume IV, IN FRONT OF YOUR NOSE, 1945-1950. Edited by *Sonia Orwell* and *Ian Angus*. (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World. 1968. Pp. xxiii, 574; xv, 477; xv, 435; xvii, 555. \$10.00 each.)

A LARGE body of criticism and several pseudo biographies are readily available, but there is nothing that comes close to a definitive study of George Orwell and his work. Orwell is a difficult subject for the literary or intellectual historian. Richard Rovere once observed that "Orwell posed no riddles, elaborated no myths and manipulated no symbols. . . . There is not much to do with Orwell's novels except read them." The same is true of his essays, letters, and journalism, and the editors have wisely let Orwell speak for himself.

The result is a useful and highly readable addition to the intellectual and political history of the 1930's and 1940's and new insights into the evolution of Orwell's mind and work. The close connection between 1984 and Eugene Zamiatin's *We* is fully documented. Notes and letters are included that illustrate the autobiographical nature of his early novels as well as his lack of creative imagination. Many, though not all, of the articles and reviews that appeared in the *Tribune* and other Left-wing newspapers and periodicals are reprinted here, for the first time, in chronological order. The collection also contains previously unpublished essays, passages from a diary that Orwell kept during the war, a useful chronology of the important events in Orwell's life, and helpful footnotes for the American reader.

In spite of the passage of two or three decades, much of Orwell's journalism still retains a remarkable freshness, and many of his observations on modern political behavior are still relevant. Even his seemingly paranoid attitude toward the British intelligentsia, whom he accused of totalitarian tendencies, now seems to have been at least partially justified. It is, for example, depressing to discover that Victor Gollancz, the editor of the Left Book Club, refused to publish *Homage to Catalonia* even before it was written because of Orwell's association with the anti-Communist *Partido Obrero de Unificación Marxista* (POUM) in Spain. In the same vein, we find

Kingsley Martin refusing to publish Orwell's favorable review of an anti-Communist account of the Spanish Civil War (Franz Borkenau's *The Spanish Cockpit*) because it "controverts the political policy" of the *New Statesman*. Later, T. S. Eliot would not permit Faber and Faber to publish *Animal Farm* because he did not regard Orwell's position as "the right point of view from which to criticize the political situation at the present time." These and other incidents would appear to justify V. S. Pritchett's contention that Orwell was indeed "the wintry conscience of his generation."

But Orwell could also be unfair, inconsistent, politically naïve, and, one hopes, excessively pessimistic about the future. For instance, it is hard to accept his charge that pacifists, such as John Middleton Murry, were anti-Semitic and "pro-fascist" during the war. It comes as something of a surprise to find Orwell condemning the Labour party for "openly agitating for war" and maintaining that Britain's only hope lay in a party pledged "to refuse war" as late as the summer of 1939. During the war, Orwell was convinced that Germany could not be defeated unless Britain first went through a major social and political revolution at home. In 1940 he advocated nationalization of major industries, an end to class privilege, and "approximate equality of incomes"; nor did he flinch at the possibility of violence: "I dare say the London gutters will have to run with blood. All right, let them, if it is necessary." It is ironic to find Orwell's books now so prominently displayed in the bookstores of the John Birch Society. Orwell was a man of the Left, and American conservatives would do well to look beyond *Animal Farm* and 1984 before adopting him as one of their own.

The publication of his letters and collected journalism makes it clear that Orwell was an angry, complex, and difficult man, but, looking back on his literary career, one is reminded of something Orwell once said of Gandhi: "how clean a smell he has managed to leave behind." He was not the social saint his more enthusiastic admirers would have us believe, but then it was Orwell who warned us that "saints should always be judged guilty until they are proved innocent."

In spite of the size and variety of this admirable collection, however, there are serious and perhaps unavoidable omissions. With the exception of a single letter written in 1920, all four volumes are devoted entirely to the last half of Orwell's life. We now know much more about Orwell, but almost nothing beyond what Orwell himself chose to reveal about his early life as Eric Blair. The absence of more documented information about his childhood, school days at St. Cyprian's and Eton, especially the Burma period, leaves the impression that there is much that we do not and perhaps will never know about Orwell's life and early intellectual development. Orwell was extremely shy and especially reticent about the early period of his life. His will contains a request that no biography be written after his death. Thus far his friends have respected his wish, but Malcolm Muggeridge is presently preparing a biography, and there are at least three other studies of Orwell currently in progress.

The publication of such a large amount of previously uncollected material is not likely to result in any radically new interpretation of Orwell or his work, but he is likely to remain a controversial figure. Orwell was a moral critic of man and his institutions in the highly individualistic, radical tradition of Cobbett, Hazlitt, and Dickens. Like his predecessors, he does not fit easily into any specific movement, party, or school of thought, which probably accounts for his curiously diverse following of anarchists, socialists, humanists, liberals, and conservatives. Orwell was one of the

last representatives of a uniquely British, unsystematic tradition of radicalism that failed to survive the modern age of rigid ideological conflict. He was, as he once said of Dickens, "a nineteenth-century liberal, a free intelligence, a type hated with equal hatred by all the smelly little orthodoxies which are now contending for our souls."

State University of New York, Cortland

GORDON B. BEADLE

DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1919-1939. First Series, Volume XVI, UPPER SILESIA, MARCH 22, 1921-NOVEMBER 2, 1922; GERMANY, 1921. Edited by *W. N. Medlicott et al.* (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1968. Pp. cxi, 1003. \$19.80 postpaid.)

THIS volume is a browser's delight and a historian's treasure. Those readers who enjoy prowling the library stacks on a quiet afternoon will find it enchanting. The tone is set by Curzon, who could be both acute and stuffy in the same sentence, but, if one tires of him, he can turn instead to Lloyd George, Briand, D'Abernon, Eyre Crowe, Headlam-Morley, Korfanty, Piłsudski, Charles Evans Hughes, Sforza, Cambon, Erzberger, Rathenau, Warren G. Harding, Stresemann, and many other notables who grappled with intractable political and economic problems at a time when diplomatists still seemed to be in control. If their high purpose was to avert another world war, they failed spectacularly, and it is instructive or at least provoking to try to find out why. Germany is the central problem of the volume, but the abrasive theme is the inability of the United Kingdom and France to agree on how to approach it. Readers interested in historical comparisons and might-have-beens will find much to ponder, for the issues of the German-Polish frontier, reparations, and arms control could not be confined forever within the sober purview of the Conference of Ambassadors or even the Supreme Council.

A short review cannot seriously analyze the complexities so admirably presented by Douglas Dakin, the editor responsible for this volume, but something of the flavor of the 859 documents may be savored in two observations by the British Foreign Secretary. Among encumbrances to the entente he saw "the relentless promotion of French prestige and the gratification of private, generally monetary and often sordid, interests or ambitions, only too frequently pursued with a disregard of ordinary rules of straightforward and loyal dealing which is repugnant and offensive to normal British interests." In another connection, the possibility of referring the Silesian question to Wellington Koo in the League of Nations, Curzon found something "almost grotesque in letting a Chinaman preside over a body which is to decide an issue of importance between France and Great Britain."

The selection of documents is judicious and impartial, the annotation is informative and unobtrusive, and the chapter summaries are detailed and accurate. There is, unfortunately, no index. Cross references are given to *Foreign Relations of the United States*, the relevant volumes of which were published as long ago as 1936, and to other official and unofficial publications.

Department of State

FREDRICK AANDAHL

DOCUMENTS ON BRITISH FOREIGN POLICY, 1919-1939. Series IA, Volume II, THE TERMINATION OF MILITARY CONTROL IN GERMANY; MIDDLE EASTERN AND AMERICAN QUESTIONS, 1926-1927. Edited by *W. N. Medlicott et al.* (London: H. M. Stationery Office; distrib. by British Information Services, New York. 1968. Pp. lix, 958. \$19.80 postpaid.)

THE changing condition of Anglo-French-German relations was central to European equilibrium between the two world wars. Britain early differed with France on the treatment of Germany and sought to hasten reconciliation with the former enemy. A long step in that direction was effected by the Locarno Agreements of 1925. Thereafter, the termination of military control in Germany, the reduction of occupation troops in the Rhineland, and the admission of Germany to the League of Nations constituted, in the British view and, somewhat more grudgingly, in the French as well, logical and essential objectives. Negotiations on these matters, covering a time span of eight months, comprise the major themes in this volume, which is part of a series that has long since proved its value in the study of interwar diplomacy.

Though British policy coincided to some extent with larger German aims, relations were not smooth. Austen Chamberlain was hampered in pursuing reconciliation by the sheer clumsiness of German diplomacy. Differences of real substance—the activities of semimilitary German associations, the construction of eastern (Königsberg) fortifications, and the manufacture of war materials, for example—were often aggravated by lesser issues, such as German preparations to illuminate the Germania monument above Rudesheim on the Rhine and plans to send military musical bands into the Rhineland despite demilitarization. (It is interesting that reports of clandestine German-Soviet military cooperation were taken by the British as containing “nothing of immediate significance.”) France’s attitude toward Germany remained ambivalent, though there was in this period, with Britain’s encouragement and support, a significant drawing together on both economic and political grounds. This is exemplified by the Thoiry “lovers’ meeting” in mid-September 1926 between Stresemann and Briand, the records of which help to demonstrate the reality of the so-called spirit of Locarno.

Rather impressed by Mussolini, Chamberlain sought to cultivate the sympathy and cooperation of Italy, a “growing power” where “fine manners [would] butter more parsnips” than anywhere else. This was not easy, however, in view of aggressive Italian policies in Albania and the Red Sea region. Nor were relations with Russia smooth. Soviet support for the British general strike in May 1926 and provocation of anti-British activities in China put Chamberlain under considerable pressure to break diplomatic relations. On the brighter side, the potentially explosive issue of American claims for shipping losses suffered in the blockade of Germany prior to April 1917, which alarmed Britain because it stood to challenge the validity of war-time blockade, was quietly resolved by compromise. All these matters, as well as proceedings in the Preparatory Commission of the World Disarmament Conference, come in for some attention in the documents presented here.

There are few real surprises in this volume. But there are extensive and ready documentation for some of the more generally accepted interpretations of the period and useful evidence on topics such as the work of Austen Chamberlain, Chamberlain-Briand-Stresemann relationships, Anglo-French-German attitudes toward European rehabilitation, and so on. Together with the gradual appearance of “Series B” of *Akten zur deutschen auswärtigen Politik, 1918-1945*, these documents

provide substantial material for the study of European international relations in the middle 1920's.

Bowling Green State University

WILLIAM R. ROCK

ACTION THIS DAY: WORKING WITH CHURCHILL. MEMOIRS. By *Lord Normanbrook et al.* Edited with an introduction by *Sir John Wheeler-Bennett.* ([New York:] St. Martin's Press. 1969. Pp. 272. \$5.95.)

THESE essays, written independently by six men who were intimately connected with Sir Winston Churchill during the Second World War (and some after), are intended primarily as an answer to Lord Moran's criticism of Churchill as a spent man. There are bitter words against Moran for violating his confidential relationship with Churchill. The authors take issue with many of Moran's statements and conclusions although they agree that from 1953, though not before, Churchill was struggling "to maintain his ascendancy against a growing weight of age and physical infirmity."

Lord Bridges was secretary of the cabinet from 1938 to December 1946 and was, therefore, Churchill's senior civilian adviser throughout the war. Lord Normanbrook was attached to the cabinet secretariat from 1941 throughout the war, except for one year in 1944 with the Ministry of Reconstruction. He was secretary of the cabinet from 1947 to 1962. Sir Ian Jacob was senior assistant to General Lord Ismay in the military wing of the war cabinet secretariat. Later, in 1952, Sir Winston brought him back for a period as chief staff officer to the Minister of Defense. Sir John Martin and Sir Leslie Rowan were private secretaries at Number 10 Downing Street during the war years, with Rowan succeeding Martin as principal private secretary in the summer of 1945. Sir John Colville joined the secretariat shortly before the war and continued to serve until October 1941, when he joined the Royal Air Force. He served again on Churchill's staff from December 1943 until the end of the war. In 1951 he became principal private secretary until Churchill resigned in 1955.

These positions are mentioned in detail as the authors enlarge our view of Churchill in his working relationship with his personal staff. We get a very warm rendering of the principal character. Their unanimous judgment is favorable.

No warts or state secrets emerge; the tone on the whole is one of great admiration. These men hold that Churchill was "fundamentally a kind man," although there is recognition of his "single-mindedness" and impatience. Everything he wanted had to be done at once, "and everything else had to be dropped." Colville argues that Churchill was by "no means an arrogant man, even if he was overbrimming with self-confidence." He was "first and foremost a man of action, he took no intellectual interest in either political or social theories." If there are no great revelations, the picture that emerges is not merely an antidote to Moran but a close-up view of how Churchill interacted with some of his close personal aids. This is another volume that will be useful when a more definitive evaluation of Churchill is written.

Brooklyn College

SAMUEL J. HURWITZ

THE WELFARE STATE: AN ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL HISTORY OF GREAT BRITAIN FROM 1945 TO THE PRESENT DAY. By *Pauline Gregg.* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1969. Pp. xii, 388. \$8.00.)

It has been difficult to think of the American counterparts of Barbara Ward, Joan Robinson, Beatrice Webb, or C. V. Wedgwood in the fields of economics or economic

history unless we broadened the definition of economic to include the brilliant social documentaries of Barbara Tuchman or, by stretching the definition still further, the critical essays of Mary McCarthy and Susan Sontag. It would not now be out of order to refer to the name of Pauline Gregg. She has published four books in a little more than ten years, and all of them deserve a place in any library of British history. This book is a sequel to her earlier one, *A Social and Economic History of Britain, 1790-1965*, which, in effect, focuses in almost microscopic detail on themes touched upon but not minutely examined in the earlier work. *The Welfare State*, as one might expect, is mainly concerned with the patterns of nationalization, controls, and social services that developed after the Labour party victory in 1945; one of the book's three sections, albeit the shortest, however, is given over to "Care and Culture," the impact of the welfare state on the nation's sociopsychological mood and style of life. Some fifty-five pages of appended statistics are a useful addition that will lessen the chore of looking up essential facts and figures in other sources. The two major sections of the book, which are almost wholly concerned with nationalization and the economics of welfare, also obviate the need to search elsewhere for the main lines of government economic policy after the war. Enabling legislation, parliamentary debates, administrative organization, the economic crises that repeatedly occurred and their consequences, changes in the distribution of wealth, and so forth—are all discussed at length.

What is missing from Gregg's account, as it is also missing from most studies of the same period by British scholars, is an effort to go beyond the official and formal history to explore the dynamics of economic and social change. Gregg's book tells us very little about the role of interest groups, especially business, in organizing and staffing the key regulatory agencies or about the manipulation of public opinion to influence the Attlee government. The subtle and devious ways of the civil service, unquestionably a conservative influence on welfare policy at all levels, are not examined, and the author shows little interest in the possibly significant effects of class ties and the "old boy" network. Gregg writes as if the essential story of the British welfare state can be told through official reports and documents, which is to suggest that its history can be written without ever leaving a good library. There is no evidence that any interviews were conducted. This is unfortunate in a book dealing with issues that were influenced and even decided by men, some of whom are still living. The author also appears unaware of, or indifferent to, the considerable body of critical publications concerning the immediate postwar period, especially those done by such American scholars as Robert A. Brady and H. H. Wilson, and, to be honest about it, I was unhappy to miss any mention of my own book, written in collaboration with Peter Shore. There are almost no references to the many studies by Americans of the nationalized industries, interest groups, and the trade-union sector, and there is little attempt to deal extensively with British literature on the same subjects.

Partly for these reasons I found myself more interested in the section on "Care and Culture," and here, too, I wish that Gregg had gone much further. She rightly concludes that the differences between the Labour and Conservative parties have substantially diminished since 1945, which is another way of saying that all political parties in the advanced industrial and democratic nations are, to one degree or another, welfare state parties. But, apart from the material gains and satisfactions that have accrued and will continue to accrue to the mass of people, how much does it matter? This is not to minimize the gains, much less to imply that what is needed is a return to the misery of ruthless laissez faire. But is it necessary to abandon finally the

cherished hopes of reformers who for centuries have believed that an improvement in man's material condition would bring with it enlightenment, humanity, generosity, decency, and even nobility? In a brief comment on the British cultural scene, especially the stage, Gregg observes: "Great characters are brought within the span of a homely man's mind, rather than rousing the mind to new horizons." Why this is so she does not say, and indeed no one has given this matter the attention it deserves. It may well be that the welfare state can succeed in everything but leveling up, and, if that is the case, we urgently need to know why and what can be done about it. Perhaps it is already too late to deal with the problem; perhaps we can only hope to hold the line where it is. Last June in New York, the two most conservative law-and-order candidates for mayor were nominated on the same day that the pornographic "Entertainment with Music" called *Oh! Calcutta* opened off-Broadway. No doubt both of these events have succeeded in rousing minds to new horizons, but hardly the horizons that the welfare state tradition has always pointed toward, or so it was thought. Why? How? And, above all, what now?

City University of New York

ARNOLD A. ROGOW

IRISH PEASANT SOCIETY: FOUR HISTORICAL ESSAYS. By K. H. Connell.
(New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 167. \$4.95.)

THESE four essays deal with aspects of Irish peasant society "largely overlooked by the historian." One, "Ether-Drinking in Ulster," could well have remained overlooked. An oddity rather than a custom of any social significance, the drinking of ether was confined to one small area of Ulster and flourished only briefly in the 1870's and the 1880's. The other three are essays of substance. "Illicit Distillation" has had a continuous history in rural Ireland since at least the early nineteenth century and was an outgrowth of poverty and idleness. Income from the sale of illegal liquor (poteen) helped pay the rent and stave off eviction. Poteen making declined sharply in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries when land reforms transformed Ireland's tenant farmers into a class of independent farmers who no longer needed to sell poteen to help pay exorbitant rents. Did the heavy flow of emigrant remittances in this period have the same effect, since they too supplemented income? Connell does not say.

"Illegitimacy before the Famine," Connell's evidence suggests, was extremely low, probably the lowest in all of Europe. Connell attributes this to "an unusual concern with the sins against chastity" among Irish Catholics, reinforced by an "unusual popular submission" to an "unusual priestly insistence." This unique relationship between priest and people is made clear in "Catholicism and Marriage in the Century after the Famine." The outstanding demographic phenomenon was peasant reluctance to marry. While that reluctance grew out of economic considerations, it was accentuated and moralized by Catholicism. The remarkable thing for a peasant people marrying so little and so late was that they remained so celibate. This was due to the puritanical character of Irish Catholicism and the enormous influence wielded by Irish priests.

The essays are well documented and enhanced by the effective use of materials from the Irish Folklore Commission, interviews, and novels.

University of Cincinnati

ARNOLD SCHRIER

THE RESTLESS DOMINION: THE IRISH FREE STATE AND THE BRITISH COMMONWEALTH OF NATIONS, 1921-31. By *D. W. Harkness*. (London: Macmillan. 1969. Pp. xvi, 312. 85s.)

WHEN southern Ireland accepted Dominion status in 1922, its position within the British Commonwealth was wholly exceptional. If it was the youngest Dominion, it was also, as Desmond FitzGerald noted, "an ancient kingdom with a great past." Its geographical closeness to Britain and to Europe set it apart from other Dominions, as did the fact that there was a "Greater Ireland" scattered throughout the world, notably in the United States.

Few in 1922 could have foreseen the leading role that the Irish Free State would play during the next decade in reshaping internal Commonwealth relations. This role is explored clearly, fully, and authoritatively in this valuable study by Dr. Harkness. His theme, which centers upon the Imperial Conferences of 1923, 1926, and 1930, is that of "persistent Irish negotiation directed skillfully towards a desired end: the transformation of an Empire dominated by the Westminster Parliament into a Commonwealth of free and equal partner nations," as defined in the Statute of Westminster of 1931.

Harkness, who teaches at the University of Kent, demonstrates conclusively that such Irish statesmen as FitzGerald, Kevin O'Higgins, and Patrick McGilligan contributed more to bringing about this transformation than better-known figures like Mackenzie King of Canada or Herzog of South Africa. The author, incidentally, refutes the contention of Gordon Walker, former Labor Foreign Secretary, that Canada rather than Ireland took the lead in changing Empire into Commonwealth.

Harkness rightly pays tribute to the strength and moderation of William T. Cosgrave, the self-effacing president of the executive council of the Irish Free State. The value of the Irish contribution to the Commonwealth did not cease, however, with Cosgrave's fall in 1932. As Professor K. C. Wheare, a leading English constitutional authority, emphasized, the principles advocated by the Irish representatives, "though rejected by other Members of the Commonwealth at the time, came to have a strong influence on the development of the structure of the Commonwealth, particularly after 1945."

Besides making an exhaustive study of parliamentary and League of Nations papers, as well as of a wide range of secondary material covering the Dominions, the author has based his narrative on manuscript materials hitherto largely unused—the FitzGerald and McGilligan Papers have been especially valuable—as well as on personal interviews with public figures surviving from the 1920's. It is good to see R. M. Smyllie's perceptive comments in the *Irish Times* reprinted. Harkness emphasizes the importance of personalities in politics, and his handling of complex constitutional issues is a model of lucidity.

University of Washington

GIOVANNI COSTIGAN

QUEEN OF NAVARRE: JEANNE D'ALBRET, 1528-1572. By *Nancy Lyman Roelker*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 503. \$10.00.)

ONE can hardly imagine the French Reformation taking the course it did without the influence and, often, the leadership of women. Notable among the noble ladies who promoted Calvinism in France was Jeanne d'Albret (1528-1572), the niece of

Francis I, the daughter of King Henri d'Albret of Navarre, and the mother of Henry IV. In this well-written and thorough study, Nancy Lyman Roelker offers the first modern biography of the Queen of Navarre. It is a book that scholars of the Reformation and of sixteenth-century France will find valuable and that will appeal to those who appreciate first-rate biography.

Roelker has built upon the solid foundations of earlier French scholarship, particularly the writings of Alphonse de Ruble and of Charles Dartigue. De Ruble's intensive studies of the D'Albret-Bourbon connection and Dartigue's close work on the administration of Béarn under Henri and Jeanne d'Albret have a far narrower focus than does this wide-ranging biography, however. Moreover, fully half of Roelker's study is devoted to the period 1563-1572, years that De Ruble did not treat. It was during this decade, and after the death of Jeanne's husband, Antoine de Bourbon, that the Queen of Navarre was most active as a leader of the Huguenot movement. Those chapters concerning Jeanne's relations with the Protestant chiefs and with the court of Catherine de Medici provide a clear and original account of the tangled diplomacy and political intrigues that culminated in the marriage of Henry of Navarre to Margaret of Valois.

From the author's careful and sympathetic analysis of Jeanne's character emerges a convincing psychological portrait. It is the portrait of a woman who was rudely treated by the men in her life, who was used as a political pawn by Francis I and Henri d'Albret, and who suffered through the notorious infidelities of Antoine de Bourbon. As Jeanne matured, she was "conscious of her anger," an "avenging fury," and constantly embroiled with friend and foe. She was also politically shrewd and calculating. It was no coincidence, Roelker concludes in her epilogue, that the high tide of Calvinism in France occurred during the decade of Jeanne's ascendancy in the Huguenot movement.

This volume should stand as the definitive biography of the Queen of Navarre. The author has cut through the partisan myths surrounding Jeanne's life and personality to provide a balanced account of a queen who was not simply a religious fanatic but rather a superior administrator, a staunch defender of the Bourbon cause, and a skillful adversary of the Guises.

Yale University

RAYMOND F. KIERSTEAD

THE WORKS OF JACQUES-AUGUSTE DE THOU. By *Samuel Kinser*. [International Archives of the History of Ideas, Number 18.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1966. Pp. x, 356. 34.20 gls.)

PROFESSOR Kinser's book is difficult to review; it is less a book in itself than the apparatus for a book as yet unpublished. The present volume is a systematic record of De Thou's works, published and unpublished, organized in relation to his monumental *Historia sui temporis*. There are a section listing and commenting on the editions of the work, a section on its manuscripts, and a section on relevant manuscript annotations to the text, both before and after its publication. Further, Kinser has devoted considerable care to noting De Thou's other, and lesser, writings, his *Memoirs*, his Neo-Latin verse, and the fugitive works of his pen that are in some cases rather difficult to trace. As the account of the composition of the *Historia* makes plain, "the grave Thuanus" wrote and rewrote his major work following several plans; all of these were printed, and some were pirated and corrupted thereby. It remained for the editors of the Enlightenment, drawn to the relatively dispassionate and critical

De Thou, to re-establish the text in workmanlike editions that are still, apparently, the best available to modern readers.

Kinser presents lists of the editions, grouped by place of publication, and comments on them fully. His remarks on those editions published during De Thou's lifetime are helpful, as are his remarks on those by later editors, especially of the eighteenth century. In the case of the manuscripts of the *Historia*, largely gathered in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Kinser has described the provenance of each and its contents. Whenever relevant, he has consulted not only the remarks of editors, but also those of the author as found in his correspondence and other writings. In addition, Kinser has attempted a gigantic task—the notation of as many annotations to the *Historia* as he could find; again, one by-product of his investigation is to demonstrate the scrupulousness of eighteenth-century editors of De Thou, especially Thomas Carte.

De Thou's major work was, of course, his *Historia*; his *Memoirs*, written as if by a friend, were his own defense of his enterprise. There are some apparent problems about a critical text of this work, for no printed work, it seems, takes into account the fuller manuscript versions. His minor work was largely poetical and Neo-Latin; he was a latecomer in Pléiade circles and an admirer of several important sixteenth-century poets, particularly Simon Macrin. He was related to the Sainte-Marthes, and Scévole de Sainte-Marthe, together with Passerat and Ronsard, contributed to the *tumulus*, which De Thou edited, of his father. Jean Dorat, among others, contributed to the *tumulus* of a sister. Kinser has collected and listed many of De Thou's poetical contributions to different volumes, many of them occasional, and he notes as well the contents of several manuscripts, one quite extensive. In addition, he has made an admirable effort to track down smaller or more ephemeral works of De Thou, particularly his letters, either in other people's volumes or in volumes devoted principally to other works.

As one can see, this is simply a workbook in preparation for a real study of the cultural and intellectual importance of this historian. The present volume does not attempt such a thing. Indeed, somewhat to my surprise, there was no mention of the Bibliotheca Thuana, a considerable monument of the French Renaissance. Although this book has unquestioned value as prolegomena to any further study of De Thou, I cannot see why, at this point, such a publication should have appeared in a series calling itself the "International Archives of the History of Ideas," since it is no derogation of the book being reviewed to say that ideas are the last thing its author appears concerned with. As I went through the volume, I began to chafe for a real study of De Thou. I assume that Kinser will give us that soon, and, if for some reason he should not, this systematic and well-organized presentation of the raw materials will make it much easier for someone else to do the job.

University of Toronto

ROSALIE L. COLIE

LES CONTRÔLES DE TROUPES DE L'ANCIEN RÉGIME. Volume I, UNE SOURCE D'HISTOIRE SOCIALE: GUIDE DES RECHERCHES. By *A. Corvisier*. Preface by *Michel François*. ([Paris:] Ministère des Armées, État-Major de l'Armée de Terre, Service Historique. 1968. Pp. vii, 144, 9 plates.)

DESPITE its unassuming title and modest size, this little volume will be of great interest to students of eighteenth-century France. It is the key to a type of documentation uncommon for that era. The government of the old regime kept only limited

records on its subjects; it did not impose upon them the identity card, which makes one's individuality a matter of public record. It was the Revolution of 1789 that introduced the modern trend with its certificates of civism, the conquest of liberty being thus attended by a certain loss of privacy.

There were three categories of persons of whom the old regime did require a recorded identity: criminals, foreigners, and soldiers. The records of the soldiers are of considerable importance since they represent a body of nearly two million men in the course of the century. The basic personnel records are composed of an extensive but incomplete collection of three thousand *contrôles*, or company rosters, representing various units from 1716 to 1786. For each soldier there are usually entries indicating place and date of birth, physical appearance, and details of service. The collection has only been readily accessible since its transfer to the Army Historical Service in 1951. Professor Corvisier has been both researcher and pathfinder in this little-known source. Besides drawing from it an excellent monograph, he has begun the preparation of an inventory and guide that is to occupy three volumes. The present one, limited as it is to general description, still offers intriguing glimpses at research possibilities. What, for example, were the nature and composition of the militia? Was the army as full of foreigners as traditional authorities say? Finally, what was the social composition of the army on the eve of the Revolution? For these questions and others the *contrôles* could help provide answers. Those who wish to explore the possibilities will find Corvisier's work an indispensable vade mecum.

University of Georgia

LEE KENNETT

LA CENSURE DES LIVRES À PARIS À LA FIN DE L'ANCIEN RÉGIME (1750-1789). By *Nicole Herrmann-Mascard*. Preface by *Jean Imbert*. [Travaux et recherches de la Faculté de Droit et des Sciences économiques de Paris. Series "Sciences historiques," Number 13.] (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France. 1968. Pp. vii, 147. 12 fr.)

THIS welcome contribution to the history of publication is a meticulous, technical study of the administration and enforcement of the censorship in Paris from 1750, when the term of Malesherbes as director of the *Librairie* began, until 1789, when the revolutionary regime abolished the censorship. It is based not only on published sources, the collections of royal decrees and regulations, and the writings of contemporaries, notably Malesherbes, but also on extensive manuscript holdings in the Archives de la Chambre Syndicale des Libraires et Imprimeurs de Paris, the Archives Nationales, and the Bibliothèque Nationale. Hitherto existing studies of the censorship and the book trade appear in the documentation, but Mme. Herrmann-Mascard writes basically from the sources indicated above.

Types of publication other than books are considered only incidentally, and the subject of provincial censorship is likewise neglected. The book is centered about the *Bureau de la Librairie* and its personnel, who were under the jurisdiction of the Keeper of the Seals (of the Chancellor only if he were also the Keeper of the Seals) or of the Lieutenant of Police. By the eighteenth century, the censorship had become primarily a function of the royal administration, although the university, that is, the faculty of theology, and the Parlement still pretended to authority in this sphere, and the author devotes a preliminary chapter to the gradual appropriation of censorship authority by the royal administration over several preceding centuries.

The regulations governing the book trade and the relations of the *Bureau de la*

Librairie with the *Chambre Syndicale* of the printers and booksellers are set forth in great detail. The most interesting aspect of the study is its account of the failure of the censorship to prevent the publication and distribution of "subversive" books. This involves a discussion of the entry into France, legally or illegally, of books printed abroad, of the practice of according a *permission tacite* or perhaps a simple *tolérance*, of various ways of smuggling, of bribing officials, of the inability of the police to keep ahead of ingenious distributors, and of the growing feeling in the government itself that the refusal of permission was useless and that any action taken against prohibited books only whetted the appetite of the public that supported illicit printing and distribution. The censorship failed, it seems, because the temper of the times was against it, even in the government.

It is a pity that a careful and detailed work of this kind, valuable especially for reference, should have no index.

Duke University

FRANCES ACOMB

THE FRENCH LIBERAL OPPOSITION AND THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR. By *Serge Gavronsky*. (New York: Humanities Press. 1968. Pp. 304. \$6.50.)

THE American Civil War produced one of the most torrid episodes of a long political love affair. During the nineteenth century, America was often a source of spiritual sustenance for French liberals, but the threat to the Union's survival in 1860 combined with hints of a thaw in the authoritarian regime of the Second Empire to produce an exceptionally intense war of ideas in France over the very viability of a liberal polity.

Gavronsky's abundantly documented book covers some ground previously explored in the studies of West, Pratt, and Case, but the interpretation of the materials from the viewpoint of the French domestic situation gives it a novel focus and direction. Although the structure of the liberal movement is left hazy, the core of the study is an extended commentary on the debate between the liberal and semiofficial press over the nature of the Civil War and the appropriate attitude for France to take toward it. According to their respective French supporters, both North and South embodied the highest political values.

Gavronsky shows how French liberals gained a tactical advantage at the outset from the fact that slavery was already an integral part of the American image. In comparison, Confederate nationalism was discovered only after the conflict began. The account also effectively demonstrates the screening techniques used by the press in polarizing the images into simplified moral essences, although the preceptual costs for the liberals on such problems as American racism are not emphasized. By 1865 a large body of French opinion was prepared to experience Lincoln's assassination, with which the book closes, as a martyrdom of liberty and a loss for national reconciliation.

More dubious is Gavronsky's claim to have demonstrated the influence of liberal propaganda on French diplomacy and public opinion. His argument relies too much on the self-congratulatory claims of the propagandists, while the evidence from the government's public opinion surveys is, if anything, negative in its implications. In asserting the effectiveness of liberal propaganda, he often begs the question by compounding it with other, more plausible explanations for a decision or turn of events. In the context of establishing influence, the real merit of this book lies in its

demonstration of the effect that the enormous commitment of energy and loyalty had on the evolution of French liberalism itself. As Gavronsky rightly concludes, by the end of the war even the Orleanist notables had muted their traditional fears of mass politics and greeted the Union's triumph as a victory of democracy as well as of liberty.

University of Pittsburgh

SEYMOUR DRESCHER

THE FRENCH REVOLUTION OF 1870-1871. By *Roger L. Williams*. [Revolutions in the Modern World.] (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1969. Pp. xxii, 232. \$5.95.)

THE key to a sympathetic understanding of Williams' book is to be found in the preface, where he states unequivocally that "the Revolution of 1870-71 was in essence the substitution of the conservative Third Republic for the Liberal Empire." Since this is so, the designer of the book's jacket did a real disservice to both author and reader by supplying a lengthy subtitle (nowhere repeated in the pages of the book) to the effect that the study treats of "A controversial episode in modern French history—the Paris Commune—and the revolutionary cycle of which it was a part." Immediately attention is focused on the Commune, when in fact the Commune is almost incidental to the author's main concern.

Because Williams' study has been published as the first in a new series "Revolutions in the Modern World," it is necessary to raise the question of precisely what constitutes a revolution. An expository note by the series editor, Jack P. Greene, might have been helpful here. Clearly, though, while definitions of revolution in the abstract do vary widely, it is not too much to say that, generally speaking, the idea of revolution carries within it some connotation of change *au fond*, of deep alterations in at least certain aspects of political, social, economic, and cultural relationships. By a test such as this, can the events of 1870-1871 be termed a "revolution"? Does not the historian have to wait until much later in the 1870's to find fundamentally new departures in French politics and society? Williams himself tends to stress the strong elements of continuity that transcend the double catastrophe of military defeat by Prussia and the postdefeat convulsions of Paris. In consequence, it becomes difficult to view the shift from late Empire to early *Troisième* as revolutionary.

The principal merit of the book quite possibly lies in the setting of the events of 1870-1871 in the larger flow of nineteenth- and even twentieth-century French history. Williams has not written—nor did he intend to write—a full narrative account of the end of the Empire, or of the Franco-Prussian War, or of the Commune, or of that National Assembly which so reluctantly designed for France the political institutions of the Third Republic. He has written precisely what he meant to write, an interpretive essay that spans some ten critical years in the life of the French nation, the years roughly from 1865 to 1875. In doing so, he also has linked developments in those years to even broader issues in the French experience, such as the perennial conflict between centralization and decentralization, or such as the widely remarked relative stagnation of France throughout the nineteenth century. Most important, he has thoughtfully joined the events of 1870-1871 to the great French Revolution of 1789, to which the upheavals here examined in detail seem almost a sort of coda; further, he has perceptively foreshadowed some of the subsequent crises of the Third Republic—particularly those coming via the antirepublican Right—by examining the

impact of both the Franco-Prussian War and the Paris Commune upon latently fascist or fascistoid mentalities.

As with any work having the scope of this one, a reviewer could signalize numerous points for agreement or disagreement. Thus, I feel that the substance of the book has perhaps been unduly influenced by Williams' known view that Louis Napoleon's Liberal Empire, if it had lasted longer, could have been an enduring and just regime for France. Similarly, I find the criticisms of the Government of National Defense for its failure to abandon scruples and to assume a hard-line, "law and order" stand against Leftist agitators in that fateful fall of 1870 do not take sufficiently into account the historic circumstances of the men, the place, and the hour. On the other hand, Williams and I could agree on the necessity for unraveling (as he does very well) the intricate relationship between the *two* Central Committees (that of the Twenty Arrondissements and that of the National Guard), and on his stressing of the Communal episode as the consequence of an emotional outburst rather than the product of "rational plan or conspiracy."

But comment on specific details is not really in order with reference to this book. The important consideration is the fact that Williams has something to say, that he has carefully examined the principal specialized literature—both standard works and recent monographs—on the years in question, and that he has had the boldness to present without apology a frankly interpretive work.

American University

JEAN T. JOUGHIN

THÉOPHILE DELCASSÉ AND THE MAKING OF THE ENTENTE CORDIALE: A REAPPRAISAL OF FRENCH FOREIGN POLICY 1898-1905. By Christopher Andrew. (New York: St. Martin's Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 330. \$11.00.)

THERE is something sad about a good historical monograph such as this one by Professor Andrew. Its subject, the diplomacy of Théophile Delcassé, has long needed such a thorough, well-founded study, but it leaves another false hero unmasked, another set of assumptions of greatness dismantled.

Delcassé, stripped and dissected under the penetrating light of Andrew's scholarship, turns out to have been a pretty ordinary fellow. His two successive major ambitions as a statesman—throwing the British out of Egypt, and, failing that, containing the irreconcilable Germans—were neither subtle nor particularly intelligent. They encompassed the political assumptions and prejudices of almost any Jacques Bonhomme.

As the author pursues this uninspired and uninspiring statesman, one can only second his interim conclusion that "in the long run Germany's refusal to come to an agreement either with France over Egypt or with England over the Far East helped to drive the two countries into each other's arms." Delcassé's mediocrity triumphed because German diplomacy did not even attain his modest level of quality.

Delcassé next sought to draw Russia into the *Entente Cordiale*. Again the Wilhelmstrasse came to his aid. He would never have succeeded on his own. His judgment was erratic throughout. The Russo-Japanese War took him by surprise. Flattering attentions from the Tsar swayed him more than cool, knowing assessments of political realities. This small, arrogant man's views seemed to stem solely from the *Revue des deux mondes*. That the Kaiser should have held him responsible for the

failure of Germany's ill-prepared diplomatic wooing of Russia in 1904 is ironic and illustrates what small caliber talents decided the fate of men before World War I.

Andrew's story is depressing, but he tells it with dispatch and authority. From beginning to end his findings rest on good research and good sense. I have only one disagreement: in his conclusions the author abandons his previously critical stance and asserts that "it is a remarkable tribute to [Delcassé's] diplomatic skill that England and Russia came to feel a greater confidence in him than in any other French statesman in the generation before the Great War." Is this true, and is it an explanation of Delcassé's success? Would it not be more correct to say that the Russians were satisfied with anyone who responded as warmly to the Tsar's flattery? And was Britain's contribution to the prewar *renversement des alliances* not primarily due to its confidence in Paul Cambon?

New York University

HANS A. SCHMITT

DIVIDED ISLAND: FACTION AND UNITY ON SAINT PIERRE. By *William A. Christian, Jr.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969. Pp. xvi, 212. \$7.50.)

THE tiny islands of Saint Pierre and Miquelon have in recent years attracted much scholarly attention. Douglas G. Anglin's discussion of the significance of these islands in World War II diplomacy is now followed by Christian's analytical study of Saint Pierre alone. Using a novel and meaningful approach, Christian adds to our knowledge of the social and political attitudes of the island population. Relying on his personal acquaintance with the island, its population and problems, as well as on interviews in France and extensive consultation of available written sources, the author carefully analyzes the social and economic conflicts that have divided the population of Saint Pierre into factions since the beginning of the twentieth century.

According to Christian, the division between the supporters of Pétain's Vichy France and De Gaulle's Free French had deep historical roots. With the exception of the Prohibition era in the United States, the lack of a reliable economic basis for the support of the people of Saint Pierre has caused a socioeconomic division of major political consequence. Mistrust, moreover, between Saint Pierrais and administrators from metropolitan France also influenced political alignments. The "big family" of Saint Pierre has actually long been composed of cliques and groups that ideally served as an information network. In many ways the story of Saint Pierre reflects "the story of twentieth-century France in microcosm." The outstanding merit of Christian's book rests on his behavioral analysis of this colonial population that does not regard itself as a colony.

Students of diplomatic history will henceforth have to correct their view of Gilbert de Bournat, who headed the administration of Saint Pierre in 1940. Christian points out that Bournat would actually have wanted to continue the war after the armistice had not the United States and Canada recognized the Vichy government. De Gaulle's return to power in 1958 caused the original Saint Pierre Gaullists and followers of Pétain to have second thoughts. It is interesting, but not surprising, that in a social sense the population of Saint Pierre came, by and large, to regard the Free French as an occupying force. The occupation has not been forgotten, but the old bitterness it caused is gone.

This enlightening little book is indeed worthwhile reading.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

HENRY BLUMENTHAL

SYNDICALISME RÉVOLUTIONNAIRE ET COMMUNISME: LES ARCHIVES DE PIERRE MONATTE, 1914-1924. Presentation by *Colette Chambelland* and *Jean Maitron*. Preface by *Ernest Labrousse*. [Bibliothèque socialiste, Number 12.] (Paris: François Maspero. 1968. Pp. 462. 24.65 fr.)

For the historian Ernest Labrousse who, in the early 1920's, was the colleague of Pierre Monatte (1881-1960) on *L'Humanité*, Monatte was "perhaps the most attractive and representative figure in French revolutionary syndicalism." Monatte was also the editor of *Vie Ouvrière*; he figured prominently in the minority which resisted the prowar leadership of the CGT (and yet also saw active service in the trenches); and he participated in the executive committees of both the Comintern and the French Communist party.

These connections suggest the interest of this rich collection of personal letters written to Monatte during the decade 1914-1924, a large proportion of them from four syndicalist militants, Marcel Martinet, Alphonse Merrheim, Georges Dumoulin, and Alfred Rosmer, though there are also occasional pieces from more than forty others, among them James Guillaume, Albert Bourderon, Maurice Chambelland (father of the volume's coeditor), Boris Souvarine, Albert Treint, Solomon Lovozsky, and Leon Trotsky. These personal letters have been supplemented and illuminated by a large number of other documents: extracts from labor newspapers; the resolutions and manifestoes of party and labor union congresses; examinations of tactical positions; declarations of policy, as, for example, the manifesto issued by the Zimmerwald conference or the extremely important policy analysis directed by Zinoviev, in behalf of the Comintern, to the leadership of the French Communist party in July 1921. Moreover, the editors have added greatly to the intelligibility, interest, and value of this collection through the data they have provided on Monatte and his circle and on the issues and events to which they were responding. They have been both scholarly and sympathetic.

If there is a single, unifying theme, it is the response of the militant Left, in France particularly but also within the international socialist movement, to the disturbing and divisive challenges provided by the First World War and by Russia's October Revolution. As we read these letters, the labor movement disappears, and even its revolutionary wing loses its collective character; we become conscious only of individual militants, torn in opposite directions, trying to make the right personal decision and then to find appropriate means of influencing public policy in a manner consistent with it. We find Guillaume, the anarchist historian, supporting "union sacrée" in the belief that Germany's victory would mean the triumph of German social democracy as well as of German imperialism. We share the disgust of Dumoulin with Loiseau, a supporter of the prowar leadership of the CGT, who had offered to use his influence with that leadership to get Dumoulin transferred to a post further from the battle front. How easy it has been for them to corrupt us in our sufferings, he reflects. We see Monatte on active duty at the front considering a refusal to fire and being urged by his anxious, antiwar friends to abandon the notion. He would have been summarily executed, and their cause needed him alive, not dead. A particularly interesting letter recounts Trotsky's oral report of his own efforts at Zimmerwald as a mediator between Western delegates like Merrheim, whose primary concern was peace, and Lenin and Radek, concerned primarily with revolution. After the October Revolution Merrheim abandoned the cause of peace. Marie Guillot thinks he did so because he was timid by nature

and drew back when facing men more revolutionary than himself, and he had come to hate Lenin at Zimmerwald and perhaps Trotsky as well.

Of still greater interest and importance are the documents for the years 1918-1922 and 1924, which concern the multiple response of the labor movement in France to the October Revolution and certain institutions emerging from it: the Comintern, the Red International of Labor Unions, and the French Communist party. The revolutionary syndicalist and anarchist wing of French labor itself was torn apart by these developments, an increasing authoritarianism and inflexibility on the part of Moscow contributing to this, as did the very nature of revolutionary syndicalism itself. Unlike Merrheim, Monatte and Rosmer reacted enthusiastically to the October Revolution. Both became members of the Executive Committee of the Communist International and took part subsequently (1923-1924) in the direction of the French Communist party. But collaboration with Moscow was difficult for them both. As revolutionary syndicalists they responded enthusiastically to Bolshevik revolutionism, Monatte writing Trotsky, "You struggle for yourselves and for us. We struggle for you and for ourselves, ashamed of not having done more and of remaining so weak. But better days will come. They are coming. Your triumph prepares and announces ours." At the same time, as syndicalists they had always acted outside the framework of a political party and, therefore, as Trotsky had the sensitivity to recognize, would find it difficult psychologically to accept the Communist party and thereby reject a part of their past. While resisting, not very effectively, the tight subordination of the international labor movement to the Comintern sought by Zinoviev, they continued to collaborate actively with the Communists until the crisis of 1924, on which these letters provide new information. At this time, under Zinoviev's leadership, there occurred a major effort to Bolshevize the national Communist parties and to stifle all dissident views, in order to achieve a single Communist front everywhere. Monatte and Rosmer were accused of participating in an antiproletarian and anti-Communist offensive led by the forces of demagogic fascism. They were also accused of being Trotskyites, and with more justice; Trotsky was more sympathetic to their position than either Lenin or Zinoviev. It was a question, ultimately, of the incompatibility of the individualism characteristic of revolutionary syndicalism with the discipline of a monolithic party now directed by bureaucrats commanded from Moscow.

University of Washington

SCOTT LYTLE

LA CRISE DES ANNÉES 30 À BESANÇON. By M. Daclin. [Cahiers d'études comtoises, Number 13. Annales Littéraires de l'Université de Besançon, Volume XCVI.] (Paris: Les Belles Lettres. 1968. Pp. 136.)

COMMUNAL and regional monographs are both a commonplace and a glory of current French historical scholarship. This modest example of the genre, conceived as a thesis for the *diplôme d'études supérieures*, attracts attention by the novelty of its subject matter. It covers the impact of the Great Depression of the 1930's on a provincial city that contained about sixty thousand people and had a lopsided economy dependent on the watchmaking industry. To my knowledge, this is the first time this period has been studied on such a local scale. Given the interesting and atypic incidence of the depression in France, one wonders why the attempt has not been made before. The author is candid about the difficulties, including, among others, the fifty-year rule for departmental archives (he cracked it to some extent)

and the destruction of important business and labor union records during the occupation. Still Daclin perseveres with useful alternate sources and judicious assessments to give us a well-organized, if overly succinct, account of the depression in his city.

The emphasis is on a rather factual recording of business failures and shutdowns, drops in production and prices, the extent of unemployment, and the efforts of industry, labor unions, and the municipality to alleviate suffering. Although there are glimpses, by inference, of real misery and despair, one misses the human element in a study that is, strictly speaking, social rather than economic history. Daclin estimates that the incidence of the depression in Besançon was more severe than in France as a whole owing to the city's brittle dependence on the watchmaking industry. But he also points out that it never attained, either in Besançon or elsewhere in France, "the nature of a cataclysm which it is possible to observe in Germany and the United States." This conclusion underlines the need for a number of studies, local and otherwise, of the depression in France. Daclin's book, in spite of some shortcomings, is an interesting start in that direction.

University of Kansas

CHARLES K. WARNER

LES ESPINOSA: UNE FAMILLE D'HOMMES D'AFFAIRES EN ESPAGNE ET AUX INDES À L'ÉPOQUE DE LA COLONISATION. By *Guillermo Lohmann Villena*. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—VI^e Section. Centre de Recherches Historiques. Affaires et gens d'affaires, Number 32.] (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N. 1968. Pp. 257. 38 fr.)

GUILLERMO Lohmann Villena has written an excellent monograph on the Espinosa family, one of the most important Castilian merchant banking dynasties of the sixteenth century. The origins of this family are obscure, but by the fourteenth century they could be found in the flourishing Castilian trading center of Medina de Ríoseco where within a few generations they had become wealthy merchants and bankers. At the opening of the sixteenth century several of the most enterprising members of the family moved southward to the city of Seville to take advantage of the opening of the New World. In Seville they participated in all aspects of the transatlantic trade and operated one of the most successful banks in the city. Their interests in America were cared for by a network of agents, most of whom were family members.

This book is divided into two parts. In Part I, the author reconstructs, on the basis of extensive archival research, the genealogy of the Espinosa family from the end of the fifteenth to the beginning of the seventeenth century. He was able to identify and obtain information about most of the 263 male members of a family whose mercantile vocation manifested itself generation after generation. Part II deals with the career of one of the most famous Espinosas, Licenciado Gaspar de Espinosa, magistrate, conqueror, and businessman. Licenciado Espinosa went to Panama with Pedrarias in 1514 as *alcalde mayor*. Like many other Spanish administrators in the New World, his official position did not prevent him from engaging in varied entrepreneurial activities in close association with his relatives. He furnished the twenty thousand pesos for the Pizarro expedition in 1526 through his agent, Father Hernando de Luque.

My principal reservations about this work relate to the author's reluctance to discuss the probable *converso* origin of the Espinosas that has been suggested by many historians. A preference for specific professions, mainly mercantile, certain family names, and the practice of endogamic marriages tend to characterize the *con-*

versos during this period. Lohmann Villena's genealogical tables of the Espinosas reveal a similar mercantile tradition in addition to repeated matrimonial alliances with families bearing names that are frequently found among the *conversos*. The supposed rural beginnings of the Espinosas are also questionable. The author claims that the family originated from a village in the province of Burgos, and that, because of this, they must have been peasants. This leads one to assume that their rural origins would preclude anything but the Old Christian heritage. The source for this information is not clear or at least it is not stated; the author begins his study of the family at the end of the fifteenth century when they were already wealthy, and it is a known fact that the *conversos* frequently falsified their origins. Even if the Espinosas did originally come from a village, that does not mean that they were *ipso facto* peasants, or, for that matter, Old Christians, since many *converso* families originated from small towns and villages where they exercised skilled and semiskilled crafts. A clarification of these points and a frank discussion of the possible *converso* origin of the Espinosas would have further enriched a work that represents an important and valuable contribution to the history of Spain and its empire in the sixteenth century.

Hunter College

RUTH PIKE

LES ARCHIVES GÉNÉRALES DE SIMANCAS ET L'HISTOIRE DE LA BELGIQUE (IX^e-XIX^e SIÈCLES). Volume III, SECRETARÍAS PROVINCIALES, CONSEJO SUPREMO DE FLANDES Y BORGONA. SECRETARÍA DE ESTADO, MILÁN-SABOYA (BORGONA), DIVERSOS DESPACHOS, PARTES, NORTE Y ESPAÑA (IX^e-XVIII^e SIÈCLES). By *Maurice Van Durme*. [Collection de Chroniques belges inédites et de Documents inédits relatifs à l'Histoire de la Belgique.] (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, Commission royale d'Histoire. 1968. Pp. lxiii, 1122.)

THIS weighty volume is a collection of document titles from the Simancas Archives, all relating in some fashion to Belgian history, mostly between 1560 and 1700. Much of the material is correspondence of the Supreme Council of Flanders and Burgundy at Madrid, a creation of Philip IV. The Supreme Council may not have amounted to much in the political structure of the Spanish Empire, but it dealt with an impressive array of official business. Some of it was trivia, but the titles also suggest material that should be of considerable interest to scholars of political, economic, social, ecclesiastical, and military affairs in seventeenth-century Europe. There are petitions from depressed merchants of Bruges and Antwerp, appeals from nobles and corporate groups for the restoration of ancient privileges, complaints about Jansenists and Jesuits, and financial reports. In addition to the records of the Supreme Council, those of other secretariats of state in Madrid contain treaties, commercial agreements, royal correspondence, and diplomatic dispatches. Nearly every document title carries a brief description of its contents.

Dunn-Loring, Virginia

THEODORE B. HODGES

BESCHIEDEN BETREFFENDE DE BUITENLANDSE POLITIEK VAN NEDERLAND, 1848-1919. Second Period, 1871-1898. Volume III, 1881-1885; Volume IV, 1886-1890. Edited by J. Woltring. [Rijks Geschiedkundige Publicatiën, Major Series, Numbers 122 and 126.] (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff. 1967; 1968. Pp. xxviii, 947; xliii, 836.)

SINCE most of the published state documents of the Age of Imperialism belong to the major powers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, these two massive volumes on the overseas economic and political relations of the Dutch in the 1880's open up new perspectives for scholars of the colonial era. In 1,783 pages and with 1,204 pieces of selected correspondence, Dr. Woltring and his colleagues cover a significant period in diplomacy related to Asia, Africa, Latin America, and Oceania. Although most are written in Dutch, there are some scattered pieces in French, English, and German.

Both volumes are either strangely silent on or not deeply concerned with many major issues. Even though it appears that no substantial revisions will result from this work, it is still valuable in filling out the historical picture. There is ample illustration of the caution and prudence of Bismarckian diplomacy, the near recklessness of Leopold II in the Congo, the early Japanese pressures in China and South-east Asia, and the much-forgotten initial French thrust into the Orient. A striking feature is the continual Anglo-Dutch cooperation and collective action on one side and the intensified Anglo-French hostility emerging from increased economic competition on the other. Since the emphasis is on commercial relations, advocates of the Marxist-Leninist orientation might hope to find evidence for their economic determinism and the thesis that imperialism is the last stage of capitalism. Yet the predominant Great Powers seem to be jockeying and wrangling about strategic political and military locales and national prestige and status as much as they are about exports, markets, and vested economic or religious group interests.

The entire collection has one great technical drawback for the researcher: the absence of any system of clear document précis under general subject headings. There are an adequate register of the persons involved, a complete index, and even a helpful listing of Dutch diplomatic and consular agents accredited abroad and the foreign representative in The Hague, and, while each document is cited as to its location and its dossier name and number, this does not help the scholar searching for a particular subject area. Strict adherence to a purely chronological presentation might have been improved upon by a glance at the advantageous subject organization of documents utilized by the Belgians in their volumes of the interwar *Documents diplomatiques belges*. This point cannot, however, overshadow the careful and meticulous job done by the editors and the publisher. These and companion volumes should be part of the holdings of every major educational and research institution specializing in the diplomacy and economics of imperialism.

Tulane University

PIERRE HENRI LAURENT

FINLAND. By W. R. Mead. [Nations of the Modern World.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1968. Pp. 256. \$6.50.)

MEAD, a professor of geography at University College, London, has spent much time in Finland and has written several other books on that country. In this book, he has tried to present a succinct historical and geographical introduction to Finland and

has succeeded quite well. More than half of the work is concerned with an interpretive historical summary in which English-language works by such historians as John Wuorinen and Eino Jutikkala have been judiciously used. A large store of monographs in both Finnish and Swedish also lies behind the generalizations made, and the bibliography demonstrates wide reading.

This is, on the whole, a happy marriage of geography and history, and the judgments are usually sound. There are, however, more misspellings and inaccuracies than should be normal in a book of this length. Mead knows both Swedish and Finnish well, but some of the mistakes are clearly his and not the publisher's. Sometimes he has arrived at a translation by means of intuition rather than a good dictionary. When dealing with place names that differ in Finnish and Swedish, he has normally chosen the former, but it would have been helpful for historians if he had consistently given the Swedish forms within parentheses. In a book designed for the nonspecialist, English-language audience, he has used Finnish and Swedish terms too frequently. Sometimes they are translated, and sometimes they are not; on occasion they are mistranslated. For a book that is not a serious scholarly contribution to either history or geography, but, rather, designed for the intelligent general reader who wishes to inform himself on Finland, this is a serious mistake. Still, with certain reservations, it can be used with profit by undergraduates.

University of California, Riverside

ERNST EKMAN

DANSKE ADELSGODSER I MIDDELALDEREN. By *Erik Ulsig*. [Skrifter udgivet af det Historiske Institut ved Københavns Universitet, Number 2.] (Copenhagen: Gyldendalske Boghandel, Nordisk Forlag A/S. 1968. Pp. 515, 14 maps.)

THIS study brings an increment of solid scholarship to the agrarian history of the North Sea-Baltic lowland plain, in which the Danish sector is well represented. Weaving in family and manorial history from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, the author centers his inquiry on holdings of the Danish upper nobility, encompassing old Skåne east of The Sound but omitting the historical duchy of Schleswig. Assemblages of manorial holdings are delineated through shifting family ties. The manorial connections within these landed complexes are, when possible, closely traced; this is done as readily within the single thorp as in relating clusters of villein or cottager plots to the family's central demesne.

The many tabulations of a substantial accumulation of data on manorial dues and labor services incorporate the results of long, probing research. Archival materials—title deeds, mortgage papers, rent-rolls—have been studied extensively. Ten foldout maps graphically show the distribution of individual large holdings. The two indexes provided for persons and localities are indispensable, but, as is usual when this dichotomy is employed, the subject matter topics tend to be left in limbo. A modest glossary would have helped here, one giving the median sense of oft-used words pertaining to dues, services, tenures, and units of measure; these would rein in the variant meanings of terms that are conscientiously elaborated in the text. During the four centuries covered, the breaks and interruptions in lines of development are, to Ulsig, as marked as any continuity.

The specialist on Danish agrarian history has here an additional reference aid on the late medieval manor; the English reader will find that the seventeen-page

summary provides ideas for making comparisons with synchronous developments in other countries.

New York, New York

OSCAR J. FALNES

LATVIA: COUNTRY AND PEOPLE. Chief editor, *J. Rutkis*. (Stockholm: Latvian National Foundation, 1967. Pp. xv, 681.)

THIS volume results from the combined efforts of twenty-seven Latvian *émigré* scholars of the older generation. There are chapters on the geography, government, population, economics, and culture of Latvia with the emphasis being on geography where Rutkis, the chief editor, has made the major contribution.

One aim of the volume is to "make facts about Latvia and the Latvians readily available to interested foreign students." The authors have succeeded in their aim, for they have supplied students of Baltic history who do not read Latvian, including myself, with a mass of geographical data and with the names and accomplishments of personalities important to Latvian culture. All of this is done with a high degree of accuracy. There is no claim that the volume is a history, yet sections of it should interest historians. This is especially true of the chapters on population, government, and economics. Thus, the discussion on Latvian population places in historical perspective what is probably the most critical problem in Latvia today: the acute danger that Latvians may soon become a minority in Latvia. An interesting topic discussed in the chapter on the government is the extent to which the legal and judicial system of independent Latvia was influenced by the system that existed in tsarist Russia.

For the authors, the central period of the study is the period of Latvian independence. The preceding period is treated as a prelude to independence, and the period after the loss of independence is viewed unfavorably when compared to conditions in independent Latvia. Yet present-day conditions are discussed in almost all subject areas with varying degrees of thoroughness.

In short, this volume is a useful compendium of factual information for the non-Latvian reader interested in Baltic history. The coverage is broad, but it unfortunately lacks depth. There is neither a sociological analysis of Latvian society nor a historical analysis of the development of Latvian culture. The reader is thus left with a much clearer impression of the country than of its people.

Columbia University

OLAVI ARENS

PANTTIPATALJOONA: SUOMALAISEN SS-PATALJOONAN HISTORIA. By *Mauno Jokipii*. (Helsinki: Weilin & Göös, 1968. Pp. 868.)

THIS book is about Finnish involvement in the *Waffen* military arm of the Third Reich. A few American scholars—H. Peter Krosby, George H. Stein, and C. Leonard Lundin—have already contributed to the unraveling of the problems connected with the establishment of the Finnish SS unit, and Jokipii has published a couple of articles on the subject. The present volume is, however, likely to remain the most extensive and detailed treatment of the subject. For many Northern European historians, the terseness of a study, or the lack of it, does not appear to be a primary criterion for judging its merit, but this volume expands what has customarily been regarded as the acceptable limits of prolixity. Few military units of battalion size, I suspect, have been deemed important enough to deserve a monograph

of close to nine hundred pages, written by a professional historian and accompanied by regrets for the many important things that had to be omitted. The author expresses an awareness of shortcomings of form and style in his work, and it is unfortunate that the product of ten years of patient labor did not receive more careful editorial pruning.

The first two chapters, which deal with the origins of the battalion within the context of the general political and military situation in Northern Europe, are quite interesting in the way they depict the dilemmas facing a small country subject to outside pressures. It is the author's contention that Soviet pressure on Finland and the resulting Finnish desire to obtain some insurance against it, rather than any ideological sympathies toward National Socialism, caused the Finnish leaders to accept the battalion. It is ironic that its existence soon turned out to be a burden rather than an asset to Finland, and, by 1943, the Finns demanded the return and dissolution of the unit. Most of the work consists of detailed descriptions, often day-by-day accounts, of the battalion's activities on the eastern front in Ukraine.

The brevity of this review precludes a thorough evaluation of Jokipii's work, but something should be said of its general approach. From time to time the book appears to have something of the tone of an apologia. Perhaps this was necessary in order to secure the cooperation and assistance of the former Finnish SS men and their organization. According to the author, they apparently approved of the manuscript. But judging from a few citations from their diaries, which expressed shock and disgust over German treatment of the civilian Jewish population and Soviet prisoners of war, some of these young Finnish volunteers were indeed quite ignorant and innocent as to the nature of the cause that they had chosen to serve.

The book is based on sources that are extensive though not nearly complete; much of the archival material relating to the subject is not yet available. The author relies especially heavily on the diaries of, as well as interviews with, the participants. The volume is most valuable as a compilation of source material otherwise not easily accessible. An index would have added to its usefulness.

University of California, Santa Barbara

PEKKA KALEVI HAMALAINEN

NORGE OG DEN 2. VERDENSKRIG: MELLOM NØYTRALE OG ALLIERTE.
[Studier i norsk samtidshistorie.] ([Oslo:] Universitetsforlaget. 1968. Pp. 299.
15 N. kr.)

DET DANSKE GESANDTSKAB I WASHINGTON 1940-1942: HENRIK
KAUFFMANN SOM UAFHÆNGIG DANSK GESANDT I USA 1940-1942
OG HANS POLITIK VEDRØRENDE GRØNLAND OG DE OPLAGTE
DANSKE SKIBE I AMERIKA. By *Finn Løkkegaard*. [Udgiverselskab for
Danmarks nyeste Historie.] ([Copenhagen:] Gyldendal. 1968. Pp. 643.)

THESE two works on World War II faintly resemble each other in their account of the unique aspects of the occupation of Norway and Denmark and the circumstances surrounding matters that relate to the two merchant marines. The first deals with diverse events in Norway before and during the war; the second is a thesis on Henrik Kauffmann's policies while in Washington from 1940 to 1942 that carefully examines Kauffmann's handling of the Greenland and merchant marine problems.

Professor Magne Skodvin and the late Sverre Kjeldstadli directed the research institute that supported the six studies in *Norge og den 2. Verdenskrig*. Skodvin wrote the lead article on diplomacy prior to the occupation of Norway and the first

period of adjustment. His summary provides little new material, but it serves as an excellent review. According to Lector Per Brøyn, who studied the exportation of iron from Sweden through Norway and ports on the Gulf of Bothnia, neither the occupation of Norway nor Allied efforts altered the flow of iron ore to Germany. German planning and economy were, therefore, only slightly affected. Grimnes, in his contribution on the formation of Norwegian police forces in Sweden, concludes that the considerable force built up in Sweden was to have been used after hostilities ceased. Many anticipated its use prior to the German capitulation, however. Askelund investigates the hostility within the Norwegian seamen's organization toward *Notraship* and its "Secret Fund." After the war the courts resolved the issue of benefit payments to the satisfaction of the seamen. Kjeldstadli's study of the resistance movement and the British SOE (Special Operations Executive) came from his doctoral thesis, and it is an excellent guide to the conflict between British and Norwegian goals and the varying concepts of the role of Norway and its forces. The last article by Riste deals primarily with the "flanking movement" and ideas for a second front in the North, which were prominent in Churchill's mind; the author concludes that the various projects came to naught because of American convictions that there should be a second front elsewhere. In summary, this excellent treatment of some phases of Norway's history during World War II highlights that country's difficulties and its positive contributions to the war effort.

The account of Kauffmann's regime in Washington from 1940 to 1942, despite its pedestrian pace and painful prose, reads like fiction. An intriguing story involving duplicity and deceit and telling of a brave attempt at independence by the home government appears here for the first time. Kauffmann deliberately set out to deceive his government, and the State Department connived with him. At the same time the Danish Foreign Office insisted upon its "freedom" from German authority and pressed for Kauffmann's compliance with its instructions. The signing of the treaty on military bases in Greenland terminated relations between the Danish legation in Washington and Copenhagen and made Kauffmann the representative of a "free and independent" Denmark abroad. The second issue was that of the Danish merchant marine outside both European waters and German hands; the million tons or more of Danish shipping formed a desirable prize for both the United States and Britain. In both instances Kauffmann supported American views and acted on the basis of a good-will policy since he felt reasonably certain that the United States would be the major defender of Danish freedom and would assist in postwar rebuilding. He sought also to keep Denmark involved with the Allies and even represented Denmark in the United Nations Declaration, where he had no right to be. This complicated and involved history of the policies of the legation adds much to Danish history, and it will become an important source for future study.

Both of these studies increase our knowledge and accentuate the role of the two Nordic countries in World War II. Where normally attention is focused only on the major Powers, here some of the contributions and the role of small nations in war are illustrated.

California State College, Long Beach

RAYMOND E. LINDGREN

THE INFIDEL SCOURGE OF GOD: THE TURKISH MENACE AS SEEN BY GERMAN PAMPHLETEERS OF THE REFORMATION ERA. By *John W. Bohnstedt*. [Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, New Series, Volume LVIII, Part 9.] (Philadelphia: the Society. 1968. Pp. 58. \$2.00.)

THE author of this interesting study examines thirty of the most rewarding examples of an unusual genre of popularly written tracts that appeared in Germany during the period 1522-1543 as a result of the threatened invasion of German lands by the Turks advancing under the leadership of Suleiman. The Turkish threat is generally considered only a part of the general turmoil and intense crises that marked the age when Christendom was being rent by the Protestant Reformation, peasant revolts, plague, and devastating wars. The religious nature of the crisis is evident from the theological character of the tracts. Both Lutherans and Catholics considered the Turk the scourge of God sent to punish the wicked, and there is a universal appeal to repentance and prayer as the first steps in removing the threat. Catholic authors viewed the struggle against the Turk as a continuation of the medieval crusades, a concept that the Lutherans rejected. The Turk was always considered the arch-enemy of Christianity, and many saw in the Turkish danger a sign of the imminent Last Judgment.

The anti-Muslim prejudice, often based on little knowledge, was heightened by descriptions of the brutal character of Turkish warfare, and much was written about the pitiful plight of captured Christians. Some of the authors gave detailed comparisons of the military efficiency of the Christian and Turkish armies and the causes for the failures of the former (political decentralization and apathy) and the success of the latter (unity and discipline).

Two *Türkenbüchlein*, one Catholic and one Lutheran, and a model Lutheran sermon are translated in an appendix. An extensive bibliography and a detailed index conclude this brief but well-written study which recounts the anxiety of a people living in a period of internal crises and external threat.

Arizona State University

KARL H. DANNENFELDT

ACTA PACIS WESTPHALICAE. Series II, Part A, DIE KAISERLICHEN KORRESPONDENZEN. Volume I, 1643-1644. Edited by *Wilhelm Engels* with the collaboration of *Elfriede Merla*. (Münster: Aschendorffsche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1969. Pp. xxx, 745. DM 125.)

Nor until the appearance of Fritz Dickmann's *Der Westfälische Frieden* (1959) did historians possess a comprehensive monograph on the peace settlement of 1648. When completed, the *Acta Pacis Westphalicae* will provide specialists with the material to move beyond Dickmann's achievement. This particular compilation is the first in a projected sequence of eight volumes dealing with imperial correspondence. It contains 417 documents, coming largely from the *Friedensakten* of the *Reichshofkanzlei*, that were exchanged by Ferdinand III and his diplomatic representatives in Münster and Osnabrück between the spring of 1643 and the autumn of 1644. Most of the documents have never been published, and they provide detailed insights into a host of difficulties that preyed on the imperial court and threatened the congress in its initial stages: the disputes over diplomatic precedence and procedure, the haggling involved in the exchange of credentials and the ratification of the peace preliminaries, the rupture between Denmark and Sweden in September 1643, the growing concern

of the Vienna government over the activities of George Rákóczy, and the quarrel between the Emperor and the German estates over the latter's admission to the peace negotiations.

In the manner of previous editors in this collection, Wilhelm Engels has performed his tasks masterfully. The texts have been analyzed with care and dispassion, and alterations in such matters as word forms and punctuation are clearly delineated. A chronological listing of documents and a good bibliography of relevant published materials further enhance the book's usefulness. The index of names, while lengthy, is somewhat weakened by the absence of topical entries and subheadings (although we are assured in the foreword that a new expanded form will be utilized in subsequent volumes.) The primary objection that can be made about Engels' work relates to his heavy scholarly apparatus. His numerous explanatory footnotes and supplementary references will undoubtedly aid researchers, but they occasionally overwhelm the documents and frequently introduce trivial details. Nevertheless, this remains a magnificent research tool, one that is especially welcome given the lack of an adequate study on the life and reign of Ferdinand III.

Southern Methodist University

JOHN A. MEARS

AUSLANDSREISEN DEUTSCHER UNTERNEHMER 1750-1851 UNTER BESONDERER BERÜCKSICHTIGUNG VON RHEINLAND UND WESTFALEN. By *Martin Schumacher*. [Schriften zur Rheinisch-Westfälischen Wirtschaftsgeschichte, Number 17.] (Cologne: Rheinisch-Westfälischen Wirtschaftsarchiv zu Köln. 1968. Pp. 393.)

THE latest in a series of scholarly studies on the development of the Rhenish-Westphalian economy that began in 1910, this monograph focuses on the foreign journeys of Rhenish and Westphalian entrepreneurs during the hundred years following 1750. The author relied extensively on diaries and travelogues, letters, reminiscences, and autobiographies. He also consulted the *Rheinisch-Westfälischen Anzeiger*, the *Allgemeine Organ für Handel und Gewerbe*, the *London Times*, the *Kölnische Zeitung*, and the *Handels-Archiv*. Herr Schumacher identifies the businessmen, describes their motives and their modes of travel, and evaluates the impact of their efforts.

Though he alludes to the grand tours that took businessmen and members of their families to France, Italy, and Switzerland, among other countries, his main concern is the entrepreneurs eager to observe technological innovations of special interest to Prussia's Rhenish-Westphalian region. This necessarily took them to England, above all, but also to other countries, notably Belgium, France, and the United States. There they sought machines and processes especially applicable to the cotton and silk textile crafts, the metallurgical industry, and land and water transport, as well as engineers and skilled craftsmen to help adapt the innovations to western Prussia. Only a small percentage of such travelers, we are told, made meaningful contacts abroad. They were hampered by language barriers, travel hazards and costs that were often partly or wholly defrayed by interested parties, English embargoes on the export of machines until 1842, the prohibition, until 1825, of the emigration of skilled English craftsmen, and the great difficulties in recruiting competent technical personnel. This account culminates in the London Crystal Palace Exposition of 1851, which made a deep impression on the Germans.

These travels, Schumacher found, awakened the German business world to the vast technological progress under way abroad. Thanks largely to the uprisings of 1848,

however, the German bourgeoisie remained impervious to, if not fearful of, Western democratic liberalism. The Germans left the United Kingdom with ambivalent feelings of antipathy and admiration for the British, feelings that sprang from the persisting German mercantilist conception of business enterprise and were nurtured by British disdain, perhaps even contempt, for "master sauerkraut." This disdain, the author concludes, generated a German determination to equal and eventually surpass the British technological miracles.

Schumacher must be highly commended for his painstaking research and his perceptive evaluation of the impact of the travels on German technological progress and on the evolution of Anglo-German economic, technological, and political relations.

Pennsylvania State University

ALFRED G. PUNDT

BRIEFWECHSEL MIT ALEXANDER VON DER MARWITZ, KARL VON FINCKENSTEIN, WILHELM BOKELMANN, RAPHAEL D'URQUIJO. By *Rahel Varnhagen*. Edited by *Friedhelm Kemp*. [Lebensläufe: Biographien, Erinnerungen, Briefe, Number 8.] (Munich: Kösel-Verlag. 1966. Pp. 465.)

BRIEFWECHSEL MIT AUGUST VARNHAGEN VON ENSE. By *Rahel Varnhagen*. Edited by *Friedhelm Kemp*. [Lebensläufe: Biographien, Erinnerungen, Briefe, Number 9.] (Munich: Kösel-Verlag. 1967. Pp. 476.)

RAHEL VARNHAGEN IM UMGANG MIT IHREN FREUNDEN (BRIEFE 1793-1833). Edited by *Friedhelm Kemp*. [Lebensläufe: Biographien, Erinnerungen, Briefe, Number 10.] (Munich: Kösel-Verlag. 1967. Pp. 478.)

RAHEL VARNHAGEN UND IHRE ZEIT (BRIEFE 1800-1833). Edited by *Friedhelm Kemp*. [Lebensläufe: Biographien, Erinnerungen, Briefe, Number 14.] (Munich: Kösel-Verlag. 1968. Pp. 501.)

THE disappearance of Varnhagen von Ense's papers during the Second World War makes it unlikely, if not impossible, that a complete, critical edition of Rahel's letters will ever be prepared. These four volumes contain no more than selections; even so, they form the most comprehensive and reliable collection of Rahel's correspondence yet to be published. In some instances their editor, Friedhelm Kemp, the German critic and translator, was able to correct earlier printed texts; he brought together much scattered material, and his commentary, which was designed for the literary student rather than for the historian, is scholarly and far-ranging. Occasionally he might have given us more information on the background and course of relationships that are left obscure in the exchanges between Rahel and her correspondents. But Rahel's letters ought not to be read primarily for their overt cause and manifest content. When she wrote, her concern was, above all, with her own inner life and that of the man or woman she was addressing. Her letters are responses to strongly felt psychic stimuli, expressed with the utmost frankness and immediacy in order to bring new insights and greater maturity to her correspondent and to herself.

Rahel was far too unusual a person to be representative of any milieu, even that of the small, special group of assimilated north German Jews to which she belonged. In one sense this limits the usefulness of her letters as historical evidence. They are, however, filled with information on every phase of her many-faceted life: her youth in the Berlin of Frederician rationalism; her salon during the turn of the century; her wartime experiences, which brought her more directly in touch with the world at large; and the last eighteen years as wife of Varnhagen, Prussian plenipotentiary in Karlsruhe and, after his retirement, indefatigable biographer and diarist. To be deprived of her

remarkable observations and descriptions would be a loss. We are further indebted for the liberating effect she exerted on many of her correspondents. She helped inspire long sequences of revealing letters from men who played a role in society and public affairs, such as Gentz or Alexander von der Marwitz, a young Prussian noble who, among all of Rahel's friends, proved most nearly her match in intellectual and psychological ambition and cold self-analysis.

But her greatest value for the historian lies elsewhere. Rahel's letters are a notably creative statement of the attitudes of German classicism, but they are expressed by an outsider whose Jewishness constantly exposed her to the rough edges and shortcomings of her environment. It is not surprising that, while giving voice to the ideals of the Age of Goethe, she also recognized their weaknesses more clearly than did those whose position in German life was secure. Her character and her social helplessness preserved her from the traps of an incipient antihumanism into which Romanticism and nationalism were leading many of her contemporaries. With a precision that is rare in the writings of her time, her letters document the intertwined qualities and dangers in one of the great periods of German history.

Stanford University

PETER PARET

OTTO VON BISMARCK: EINE KURZBIOGRAPHIE. By *Eckhard Verchau*. (Berlin: Haude & Spensersche Verlagsbuchhandlung. 1969. Pp. 212. DM 19.80.)

A SHORT, concise Bismarck biography for the average German reader under forty is a well-recognized need and inspired the writing of the present volume. It is regrettable that Mr. Verchau succeeded in his task only to a very limited extent.

Eager to contrast Bismarck's achievements with the failures of Wilhelm II and Hitler, Verchau presents the great Chancellor with almost no faults or blemishes and ignores some of the more important problems and events of his life. A reader ignorant of the major issues of nineteenth-century German history would still know nothing of the problems involved in the constitutional conflict in Prussia in 1862 nor of the shortcomings of the constitutions of the North German Confederation and the German Empire. He would be equally unaware of the Hohenzollern candidature and the war scare of 1875 and of Bismarck's role in these events.

It is not easy to present the results of recent scholarship to the general public in a lucid and pleasing style, but it is not impossible, as Professor Medlicott's biography of Bismarck, written for a similar audience, demonstrated (*AHR*, LXXII [Oct. 1966], 215). Bismarck's greatness is by now well established, and his restraint in foreign affairs and his peaceful policy after 1871 are widely recognized. His reputation will not be enhanced by overlooking his shortcomings or by suppressing incidents in which he played a less than heroic part. Nor can extensive quotations from his correspondence and excerpts from his better-known speeches make up for these omissions.

Today the writing of reliable and balanced history, especially for the general public, is an urgent task, lest myths and legends take its place. Verchau's treatment of Bismarck is particularly discouraging in this respect.

Washington, D.C.

GEORGE O. KENT

THE RED '48ERS: KARL MARX AND FRIEDRICH ENGELS. By *Oscar J. Hammer*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1969. Pp. xv, 428. \$8.95.)

THE purpose of this book is to relate the political careers of Marx and Engels from their earliest beginnings in their student days until 1850, when Engels was thirty years old,

and Marx only two years older. At this time, the two men shook the dust of the Continent off their feet and went into exile to enter what most of their followers and many of their critics would consider the most fruitful and creative period of their lives; to Professor Hammen it was "the darkest period of their careers."

This somewhat surprising interpretation signifies the author's specific interest in Marx and Engels not as theorists nor even as founding fathers of a very potent political and ideological movement, but only as makers of revolution. Hence, in this book he is preoccupied with their day-to-day experiences and activities as radical students, radical journalists, organizers, and propagandists, reacting to the stormy political events of Europe on the eve of and during the Revolutions of 1848. He has managed to weave a skillful fabric of personal and political events, moving nimbly from one vantage point to another: how Marx and Engels looked at events; how other radicals, or indeed Prussian officials, looked at Marx and Engels; and how all the *dramatis personae* look to today's historian in the light of events. Hammen knows the pertinent political history well and has steeped himself in the details of Marx's and Engels' lives, neglecting only the pathbreaking Marx biography recently published by Arnold Künzli, which in many ways would spoil his interpretation. Hammen nevertheless tells a very good story.

His point of view in telling it seems rather like that of an establishment liberal observing students and nonstudents of the contemporary New Left. He writes with guarded sympathy about the grievances of the lower classes, but is disdainful of the radical intellectual, specifically, the Hegelian Left. While he himself does not particularly seek to bring out the striking similarities between the Hegelian Left and today's SDS, those that he does convey are remarkable. It is a pity that he failed to dwell on this comparison, even though his mere hints are a contribution.

The Hegelian Left is stressed here rather than Marx and Engels because one of Hammen's major theses is that the differences between the two and their former radical friends have been exaggerated for political and personal reasons—an interesting and provocative thesis that makes this a controversial book. The thesis can be defended only by heavily discounting the Marxian system of ideas, that is, by treating Marxism as an ideological rationalization of some juvenile and excessively idealistic radicalism in which, for unexplained reasons, Marx, Engels, and other young Hegelians indulged. Most Marxologists, to say nothing of Marxists, will be reluctant to concede this much to Hammen.

This well-written book is but slightly marred by the absence of a scholarly apparatus and by the poor translation of many German words.

University of Michigan

ALFRED G. MEYER

GEIST UND GESELLSCHAFT DER BISMARCKZEIT (1870-1890). By *Karl Heinrich Höfele*. [Quellensammlung zur Kulturgeschichte, Number 18.] (Göttingen: Musterschmidt-Verlag, 1967. Pp. 519. DM 43.)

THIS volume is the eighteenth in a series of topically organized collections of sources on German cultural history. It is a book of readings from primary sources designed to illustrate the general mood and suggest some of the complexity and tensions, as well as the achievements, of German social and intellectual life in the Age of Bismarck.

The 150 selections are necessarily short, but their range is admirably broad, extending from female emancipation to life in the schools and the burgeoning cities, from science and philosophy to art, music, and literature. There are selections from Nietzsche, Vischer, Strauss, Max Weber, Haeckel, Dilthey, Liebknecht, and Paul

Heyse, as well as from less familiar figures; also included are notices from newspapers and journals and selections from books. The aim, as the editor indicates, is not comprehensiveness but rather a sampling of the rich variety of the period. Since the length of each selection is about the same, however, an impression of uniformity emerges that obscures both the relative significance of the subject covered and the comparable qualifications of the individual authors. At the most striking extreme, for example, Dilthey's observations on his education and Marie von Bunsen's recollections about the place of dancing in high society earn the same amount of space.

As with any collection of readings there will be, inevitably, differences with the editor over what was included and what was omitted. Höfele has explained his criteria of selection in an introductory essay that serves as a general presentation of his view of the age as well as the only introduction, through a brief mention of each, to the short selections that comprise most of the book. Höfele's view of the period is quite traditional: he contrasts the early and late segments of the century as the Ages of Goethe and Bismarck; he stresses the role of technological change as defining the difference between the two segments; and he insists upon seeing the primacy of political events—the founding of the German Empire and the fall of Bismarck—as marking the beginning and the end of a distinctive period in German intellectual and social history. Fortunately, Höfele's selections from the primary sources transcend much of this traditional view, thereby serving the important, though perhaps unintended, purpose of calling into doubt whether such a complex and vibrant period can be subsumed under the general term “the Age of Bismarck.”

Michigan State University

WILLIAM J. BRAZILL

WEIMAR GERMANY'S LEFT-WING INTELLECTUALS: A POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE *WELTBÜHNE* AND ITS CIRCLE. By *Istvan Deak*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 346. \$9.75.)

PROFESSOR Deak's book provides the American reader with a sound introduction to the history of the *Weltbühne*. His study, based largely on the journal itself, is complemented by interviews with surviving writers of the period and a thorough review of the relevant literature. The book's weakest part is its opening discussion of the cultural scene before 1914, marked by such generalizations as the catalogue of German character traits, on page eight, that could be applied with equal validity to any number of groups—our New Left, for instance. After biographical sketches of the *Weltbühne*'s editors, some of their causes—pacifism, sexual emancipation, judicial reform—are outlined. Then follows a long central section on the political program of the *Weltbühne* from 1918 to 1932, which is characterized by the author's heading as “A Crusade for Socialist Unity” and which presents a closely argued analysis of the political conflicts of Weimar Germany from the perspective of the journal. Deak concludes with an account of the trials and demise of the journal as the republic collapsed and its rebirth, under different ideological colors, in exile. Appendixes contain useful résumés of some ninety contributors, allies, and enemies of the *Weltbühne*.

To write the political history of a circle of independent-minded men of letters presents obvious difficulties, and these increase when the writers and their milieu are scarcely known to the intended audience. A recent German study, Alf Enseling's *Die Weltbühne: Organ der “Intellektuellen Linken”* (1962), suggests the advantages enjoyed by a scholar whose efforts to integrate aesthetics and public issues in his interpretation are encouraged by the degree of familiarity with modern German literature

he can expect from his readers. Deak rightly questions Enseling's argument that the *Weltbühne's* ultimate goal was the accession to power of an intellectual elite. Yet Enseling succeeds in clearly delineating a major topic that remains somewhat obscured in the present work: the journal's aesthetic concerns before 1914 and their transformation into political criticism. Deak agrees that "the leftwing intellectuals had been at their most effective when they were still cultural rebels, before World War I," but he has chosen not to investigate this part of the journal's story systematically. Understanding it, however, is almost a prerequisite for understanding the *Weltbühne's* politics in the Weimar period.

In his final pages Deak defends the literary Left against the criticism that it harmed rather than supported the shaky republic. No one can deny that in many *Weltbühne* writers the political faculty was imperfectly developed, but the same was also true of most party leaders and functionaries. It was the *Weltbühne's* very considerable achievement to expose the fantasies and pretensions of antidemocratic thought in Germany. The obligation and power to destroy the targets that it tirelessly illuminated rested elsewhere.

Stanford University

PETER PARET

AKTEN ZUR DEUTSCHEN AUSWÄRTIGEN POLITIK, 1918-1945, AUS DEM ARCHIV DES AUSWÄRTIGEN AMTS. Series B, 1925-1933. Volume I, DEUTSCHLANDS BEZIEHUNGEN ZU FRANKREICH, GROSSBRITANNIEN, BELGIEN SOWIE DEUTSCHE ENTWAFFNUNG, REPARATIONEN, VÖLKERBUND UND INTERNATIONALE ABRÜSTUNG. Part 2, AUGUST BIS DEZEMBER 1926; Volume II, DEUTSCHLANDS BEZIEHUNGEN ZUR SOWJET-UNION, ZU POLEN, DANZIG UND DEN BALTISCHEN STAATEN. Part 2, JUNI BIS DEZEMBER 1926. (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht. 1968; 1967. Pp. xlvii, 712; xlii, 555.)

On July 12, 1926, the secretary of the German legation to Moscow drafted a memorandum listing those elements of German-Russian military arrangements that he thought were "indubitable offenses" against the disarmament clauses of Versailles; the second half of his note enumerated activities which, if not violations, could compromise the German government. At Thoiry, on September 17, 1926, Briand and Stresemann met for their famous conversation. Among the varied topics of their nearly five-hour meeting, Briand complained about an instruction book for paramilitary activity issued by the Stahlhelm. Stresemann made light of the business, saying that it fulfilled a kind of psychological need for Germans, and Briand agreed that it always helped one's ego to put on a helmet and play soldier. These two incidents superbly exemplify Germany's relationships to the east and west after Locarno, and these volumes provide a better and more detailed understanding of them. On the one hand, there was the Weimar Republic's eastern policy, which stemmed from the military arrangements of Von Seeckt and from the Treaties of Rapallo and Berlin. On the other, there was a Weimar government which, in the wake of Locarno, was just entering the League of Nations and which was following a conciliatory path with respect to Western Europe.

The volumes here under consideration are the second parts of Volumes I and II of the excellent new "Series B" of the *Documents on German Foreign Policy*; each part covers, roughly, the second half of 1926. The volumes are edited with the same meticulous care and under the same four-nation arrangements described in previous reviews (*AHR*, LXXIII [Dec. 1967], 523; LXXIV [Dec. 1968], 647). Although the

general patterns of Weimar diplomacy at this time are well known, many fascinating subjects that dramatically illustrate the two-sided necessities of Stresemann's policies are explored in these two chunky volumes.

One can touch on only a few examples. To the east, military, financial, and political relationships with the Russians made a complex web. The Germans were deeply involved in providing technical aid to Russia for military training and production. Of immediate concern was how to pull Professor Junkers' chestnuts out of the fire: under special German urging, his aircraft firm had established itself in Russia and, thereby, financially sapped the home concern. To make matters worse, in early December the correspondent of the Manchester *Guardian* let the cat out of the bag with undeniable information concerning the Junkers problem. The Germans had varied economic enterprises in Russia, but of special interest were the possibilities of a loan to the Soviets with American and British participation in a grand consortium. In broad political matters, Brockdorff-Rantzau is seen, to his own considerable satisfaction, as the great proponent of Germany's eastern policy; particularly notable is his long report, which he submitted directly to Hindenburg in July 1926, on the prospects of German-Russian relations after the Treaty of Berlin.

In the west, Germany sought better relations with Britain and France and the consequent modification of Versailles. Stresemann achieved a special victory in December 1926, when the Allies consented to the withdrawal of the Inter-Allied Control Commission. Another primary concern was the admission of Germany, in August, to the League of Nations, and its unsuccessful attempt to keep Poland from a seat on the Council. There is also much on reparations, disarmament, and the evacuation of occupied areas. This volume, like others that have appeared in this excellent series, is of fundamental interest to students of recent European history.

Georgetown University

THOMAS T. HELDE

KULTUR UND GESELLSCHAFT IN TIROL UM 1600: DES HIPPOLYTUS GUARINONIUS' "GREWEL DER VERWÜSTUNG MENSCHLICHEN GESCHLECHTS" (1610) ALS KULTURGESCHICHTLICHE QUELLE DES FRÜHEN 17. JAHRHUNDERTS. By *Jürgen Bücking*. [Historische Studien, Number 401.] (Lübeck: Matthiesen Verlag, 1968. Pp. 196. DM 24.)

THE second part of the above title provides a more accurate clue than the first to the content of this study. Bücking's study is a detailed exegesis of an interesting seventeenth-century book. Guarinonius was born illegitimately in 1571 in Trent to an Italian father, was educated by Jesuits in Prague, and was trained in medicine, theology, and letters. He settled in the city of Hall in Tirol, where he practiced medicine, wrote on a variety of subjects, and participated in civic affairs and Church reform. His major work, the subject of the present book, is, as its baroque title indicates, a physician's diagnosis of the causes of the decline in public morality, along with prescriptions for a cure. As might be expected, the book holds a vast store of observations and comments on public and private life in Tirol around 1600, and these provide the raw material for Bücking's contrivance of a composite picture of "culture and society in Tirol." Evidence drawn from Guarinonius' account is shown to agree with what is known of the civilization of other southern German territories. This, in turn, confirms the existence of a marked cultural split between the southern and northern regions of Germany, a rift coinciding with, and determined by, the religious division of the country.

Beginning with a discussion of Guarinonius' "world picture" and view of man, Bücking takes up a proliferation of individual topics: justice and administration, social classes and their distinctions, prices and living standards, commerce, crafts and industry, traffic and customs policies, education, music, painting and architecture, the theater, polite and popular tastes in reading, religion, the attitudes of laity and clergy toward the Jesuits, popular habits and conduct, hygiene and medicine, and others. On each of these Guarinonius has something informative to say, but Bücking, while occasionally relating his author's allegations to the evidence of other sources, seems to take it all as gospel truth, failing to allow for the habit of benevolent exaggeration that comes easily to the reform preacher, particularly one as puritanical in his tastes as Guarinonius, who was, moreover, so evidently in error on many vital matters of fact. Indeed, so gross is the image of southern German society that emerges from the description—filth, indulgence, superstition, complacency—that one cannot help wondering whether Guarinonius should be taken quite so seriously as a witness to the behavior of his fellow men. This question is never raised in the present book.

Indiana University

GERALD STRAUSS

FRANZ JOSEPH I OF AUSTRIA AND HIS EMPIRE. By *Anatol Murad*. (New York: Twayne Publishers. 1968. Pp. x, 259. \$6.50.)

THIS brief description of the life, long reign (1848–1916), and Empire of Emperor Franz Joseph I of Austria-Hungary, by an economics professor at the University of Puerto Rico who was born and raised in pre-1914 Vienna, "is intended as an introduction . . . for readers not familiar with them." The author has brought together much useful information, some of it summarized in charts, on the history of the Habsburg dynasty and its realms, on the life of Franz Joseph, and on the organization and problems of the now-defunct multinational Austro-Hungarian monarchy. The author paints an unflattering picture of Franz Joseph in which the old Emperor appears stiff, unfeeling, and a little callous. The collapse of the Empire is portrayed as the product of a process of organic disintegration abetted by the hegemony of the reform-resisting Hungarians in the Dual Monarchy after 1867.

On balance, the book is disappointing as an introductory work and does not fulfill the author's hope of offering some new views and interpretations to readers already well informed on the subject. The interpretive framework of the book is inconsistent and unconvincing in linking psychological factors to political and social factors and to policy decisions. Too many judgments of men and events and too many explanations of political and social developments are based on outmoded scholarship, and often too little distinction is made between the important and the trivial.

The major flaw in the book is evidenced by the bibliography, which is hopelessly outdated. Despite the author's claim that almost all of the material for the book was gathered in Austrian archives and university libraries, it is based largely on material—memoirs, biographies, letters, and secondary sources—published before 1945 and, in many cases, before 1914, almost all of which can be found in the library of any large university in the United States. Murad appears to have no systematic acquaintance with post-1945 historiography and literature on the Habsburg monarchy and the origins of the First World War, which would have contributed to a more sophisticated understanding of the monarchy's problems and conflicts. It is impossible to write a serious work on any aspect of the modern history of the Habsburg monarchy without taking into consideration the new data, interpretations, and conclusions contained in the recent

literature. The author's attempt to do that accounts for the chief deficiencies of the book as biography and as political and social narrative and analysis. Should this work enlighten undergraduates and the general reader in some ways, it will lead them astray in other, more serious ways.

Franklin and Marshall College

SOLOMON WANK

MAYERLING OHNE MYTHOS: EIN TATSACHENBERICHT. By *Fritz Juddmann*. (Vienna: Verlag Kremayr & Scheriau. 1968. Pp. 430. Sch. 195.)

CROWN Prince Rudolf's death at Mayerling still looms as fateful and as mysterious to Austrians as it did in its own day. The logic of its fatefulness is that stodgy Franz Josef's lucid, restive son had been, for all his chronic discouragement, a living promise to the liberals of Budapest and Prague, as well as Vienna, of revitalizing the Empire and of emancipating it from its servitude to German diplomacy. As for the mystery, the Emperor compounded it immediately by issuing false, superseded by defective, reports and outlawing all others. He then cut the inquest short and charged Prime Minister Taaffe with secreting the dossier indefinitely. And the plot has thickened through eighty years of contradictory inside accounts, disjunctive documentary finds, and inconclusive scholarly sleuthing.

Mayerling ohne Mythos sifts and weighs the principal evidence available on Mayerling, including much that Juddmann himself introduces. On the central issue, it demolishes all inferences against Rudolf's having shot Mary Vetsera and then himself, hitherto drawn from cross indications as to the weapon used, the timing of the shots, the trajectory of the bullets, and the like. Concerning the determinants of the deed, it presents a strong case that Rudolf had suffered from gonorrhea since 1886 and many indications both ways as to whether he had compromised himself with his father's Hungarian opponents. Among its additional contributions, it reconstructs the scene of the crime at Mayerling and that of the preliminaries at the Hofburg, retraces the numerous coach rides involved, and documents a cash debt contracted toward the last by Rudolf of over a fourth of the total worth of his estate. The Taaffe dossier remained beyond Juddmann's reach (in Dublin), but he has set tight limits on the secrets it may harbor.

Methodical and exacting Juddmann is, but perhaps he is not a suspicious enough researcher. He credits pretended transcripts of missing letters as far as the several cases allow, which is too far. He rejects testimony that Mary was some months pregnant at her death on the ground that her intimacy with Rudolf went back only two weeks. And again and again he lets that falsest of witnesses have her say uncontradicted: Countess Larisch, who procured Rudolf's suicide partner for a fee after his mistress and then his wife had declined the honor. He holds that when Rudolf took Mary to Mayerling the Countess was caught unawares and panicked, whereas the Countess thereupon faultlessly acted out an involved "comedy" (her word) to clear herself of complicity. Had she panicked nontheatrically, she would have alerted her aunt, the Empress.

All in all, Juddmann has decidedly narrowed the uncertainty surrounding Rudolf's death—a little as to *why* he died, that is, and about as much as can be as to *how* he died. Unfortunately, given the fine scholarship it embodies, Juddmann's volume is not indexed or adequately referenced.

Brandeis University

RUDOLPH BINION

- DIE ARBEITER IN DER SCHWEIZ IM 19. JAHRHUNDERT: SOZIALE LAGE, ORGANISATION, VERHÄLTNIS ZU ARBEITGEBER UND STAAT. By *Erich Gruner*. [Helvetia Politica: Schriften des Forschungszentrums für Geschichte und Soziologie der schweizerischen Politik an der Universität Bern, Series A, Volume III.] (Bern: Francke Verlag, 1968. Pp. 1136. 95 fr. S.)
- PROBLÈMES DE L'HISTOIRE ÉCONOMIQUE DE LA SUISSE: POPULATION, VIE RURALE, ÉCHANGES ET TRAFICS. By *Jean-François Bergier*. [Monographies d'histoire suisse, Volume II.] (Bern: Francke Editions, 1968. Pp. 94. 8.80 fr. S.)
- DIE ENTWICKLUNG DER SCHWEIZERISCHEN TEXTILWIRTSCHAFT IM RAHMEN DER ÜBRIGEN INDUSTRIEN UND WIRTSCHAFTSZWEIGE. By *Walter Bodmer*. (Zürich: Verlag Berichthaus, 1960. Pp. 579.)
- INDUSTRIALISIERUNG UND VOLKSLEBEN. DIE VERÄNDERUNGEN DER LEBENFORMEN IN EINEM LÄNDLICHEN INDUSTRIEGEBIET VOR 1800 (ZÜRCHER OBERLAND). By *Rudolf Braun*. (Erlenbach-Zürich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag, 1960. Pp. 287.)
- SOZIALER UND KULTURELLER WANDEL IN EINEM LÄNDLICHEN INDUSTRIEGEBIET: (ZÜRCHER OBERLAND) UNTER EINWIRKUNG DES MASCHINEN- UND FABRIKWESENS IM 19. UND 20. JAHRHUNDERT. By *Rudolf Braun*. (Erlenbach-Zürich: Eugen Rentsch Verlag, 1965. Pp. 368.)

THE nonspecialist may wonder why he should devote time and effort to the history of a small country such as Switzerland. With the huge outpouring of published works he will most frequently not find enough time to keep up with his own special area of interest. He will, moreover, look more for main currents and over-all impressions rather than details of small countries probably low on his priority list. It is regrettable that he will in this way often pass over important material and, even worse, major methodological contributions. The books reviewed here aid in the further understanding of Swiss history, and at least two of them provide an approach to the writing of history that deserves further notice.

In Erich Gruner's *Die Arbeiter in der Schweiz im 19. Jahrhundert* the historian will be confronted by a mammoth volume that, despite its size, promises more than it is able to offer. Traditional in his approach, Gruner devotes eight hundred of his over one thousand pages of text to paraphrasing the criticisms of industrialization, the efforts to organize defenses against its evils, and the ways in which the state organism increasingly interfered in the private sector to protect those of its citizens who were industrial laborers. The author also shows the intellectual influences from abroad, whether it was a case of Swiss citizens adopting foreign models or foreigners coming to Switzerland. The latter often used the country as a refuge, but also influenced the course of labor organization, among other things. Primarily interested in economic associations and societies, Gruner placed little emphasis on the actual conditions of laborers. One may hope that when he writes his promised study of employer associations he will be more comprehensive and analytical than he has been in respect to labor, especially if the result is again a huge volume.

It almost seems unfair to deal next with a slender if not necessarily modest volume. Jean-François Bergier's *Problèmes de l'histoire économique de la Suisse* is in a way a historian's dream. Bergier devoted each of three chapters to one topic, apparently having chosen those problems for discussion that interested him most. He did not pretend that he had thereby identified all the problems of Swiss economic history. Population, rural

life and markets, and transportation routes are subjected to thoughtful review. Often the author finds little difference between the Swiss experience and that of the rest of Europe. The candor of a historian openly recognizing the nonuniqueness of this country is refreshing. He uses the comparative approach well and thereby demonstrates the efficacy of this method, especially for the history of a small country.

Bergier transverses millennia in his treatment of the three topics and possibly devotes too much attention to the premodern period. He finds in Swiss economic history a continuous and successful effort to achieve an equilibrium between the mountains and the plateaus, between city and countryside. A country that imports food, Switzerland was early able to specialize and to gain a comparative advantage over other countries in such areas as cattle husbandry. An interesting and suggestive book, Bergier's work is not overly analytical, but at the same time it avoids the strictly descriptive method.

Conforming completely to the descriptive method, which is useful but not completely satisfactory, is Walter Bodmer's *Die Entwicklung der schweizerischen Textilwirtschaft im Rahmen der übrigen Industrien und Wirtschaftszweige*, the standard work on Switzerland's textile industry. It is organized on a chronological basis and provides information, canton by canton, from the beginning of recorded time to the mid-twentieth century.

With all the three books discussed, the reader must, above all, be interested in Swiss history in order to gain a maximum return for his effort. This is not true of the last two books. Written by Rudolf Braun, a Swiss historian and now a professor at the Free University of Berlin, they deserve the attention of the scholar despite and possibly because of the fact that they deliberately treat a very restricted area that by itself would not interest the foreign scholar. Neil J. Smelser's study of social change of the Lancashire textile industry, a comparable book, deals with a place made famous as a result of the Industrial Revolution. Who outside of Switzerland, however, has heard of the Zürcher Oberland, the rural hinterland of Zürich? It may be for that reason that only one of these two volumes was previously reviewed in the *AHR* (LXXI [July 1966], 1378); they constitute an important effort in socioeconomic history and justifiably earned the author the McVane Prize for modern European history from Harvard University. Perceptive and penetrating, Braun examines in detail the social transformation of a rural area near a large city at two distinctly different but consecutive periods of history. In his *Industrialisierung und Volksleben* he follows the effects of increased demand for cotton goods on village populations that were under the putting-out system as organized by merchant-industrialists in Zürich. Among the revealing points that he makes is that the cottageworkers were often poor peasants who had recently moved to a particular village after having been rebuffed by other villages with more prosperous agricultural populations. The income from industrial work made it possible for put-out workers to operate their small holdings. Here, then, is a case where industrialization permitted continuing, small agricultural enterprise, suggesting a modification of the more commonly held proposition that industrialization results in alienation of the land.

Braun's first book concerns the end of the eighteenth century; in his second book, *Sozialer und Kultureller Wandel in einem ländlichen Industriegebiet*, the machine and factory age of the nineteenth century is taken up. Rural agents who had been involved in the putting-out arrangements now became factory owners. According to the author, they were exploiters personified, not hesitating to declare their tyrannical attitudes toward their workers in so-called *Fabrikordnungen* which they sent in to the government. Whereas putting-out seemed to benefit rural populations by providing them with

outside income with which they could continue their agricultural pursuits, factory employment threw them into utter misery and uprooted them to the point where they became a floating population, moving from place to place. This rather dreadful phase of industrialization in the first half of the nineteenth century was then replaced in the second half by a more benign period; factory owner and society at large, through governments, became interested in a more settled and stable population.

Braun's fascinating portrayal of the impact of industrialization on people is heavily influenced by sociological ideas. Whether one wishes to consider his work as historical sociology or social history, it is an excellent methodological demonstration for the professional historian. While adhering to the canons of the historical method, the author is able to employ the means of a sister discipline and to construct a compelling picture of a historical reality. Probably overmodestly but nevertheless consciously, Braun refused to enter upon the technological and economic problems that were part of the transformation of the rural populations outside of Zürich. He carried out his self-assigned task in an exemplary manner. Now, he or some other scholar can take the same material and study it according to the criteria left out. Then, indeed, a model would exist for the complete social and economic historian. The American scholar can greatly benefit from this excellent study of regional social transformation especially if it were, as might be hoped, translated into English.

Tulane University

HERMAN FREUDENBERGER

LES ORIGINES DE LA RÉFORME À GENÈVE. Volume II, L'ÈRE DE LA TRIPLE COMBOURGEOISIE: L'ÉPÉE DUCALE ET L'ÉPÉE DE FAREL.

By *Henri Naef*. [Published by the Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Genève.] (Geneva: Librairie Alex. Jullien. 1968. Pp. xi, 632. 65 fr. S.)

THE late Henri Naef had a passion for archival research on the history of his native French Switzerland during the period of the Reformation. He spent much of his life burrowing through manuscripts of the period, digging new facts out of them, fixing these facts with the greatest possible precision, and fitting them together into long and leisurely books on narrowly defined topics. He could never bear to omit any of his factual discoveries from his works.

The largest project to which he devoted these talents was a multivolume history of the origins of the Reformation in Geneva. Volume I, which analyzed Genevan society, government, and culture on the eve of the Reformation, was published in 1936. Volume II, which presents a close narrative of events in Geneva between 1526 and 1534, was probably largely written about the same time. Volume III, which should have carried the story to the definitive establishment of the Protestant Reformation in 1536, was apparently never begun. A team of Genevan scholars has now published Naef's manuscript of Volume II, as a tribute to his memory, in much the same form in which it was left when he died in 1967. The first 341 pages, which carry the story into 1532, are buttressed with the technically impressive footnotes that specialists expect in all of Naef's writings. There is no such support for the rest of the narrative. The bibliography tends to confirm a suspicion engendered by the text: that the book was largely written by 1940. One finds no use of such relevant recent works as Hektor Ammann's article in the *Zeitschrift für Württembergische Landesgeschichte* (XII [1954], 150-93) on the role of German merchants in introducing Protestantism into Geneva, or E. William Monter's *Studies in Genevan Government (1536-1605)*, published in 1964.

If one can attribute a single thesis to so highly factual a book, it is that the Genevan

Reformation was more a political revolution than a religious conversion. It was led by a group of relatively young and wealthy bourgeois, supported by the powerful neighboring city-state of Bern, against a feudal bishop and cathedral chapter, supported by the older bourgeois, the Duke of Savoy, neighboring petty noblemen, and the weaker neighboring city-state of Fribourg. While Naef does describe in considerable detail the energetic efforts of William Farel and others to introduce Protestant worship into Geneva, he tends to see them as agents of a clique of laymen, rather than the other way around. Although one gets this impression primarily from the proportions of Naef's narrative, it is also occasionally stated quite flatly.

This book contains no real surprises, and it is too detailed and intricate to be read easily by the average historian, even the specialist on the Reformation. It will, however, clearly remain an indispensable storehouse of reliable information for anyone seriously interested in its subject.

University of Wisconsin, Madison

ROBERT M. KINGDON

A HISTORY OF SICILY. Volume I, ANCIENT SICILY TO THE ARAB CONQUEST, by *M. I. Finley*. Volume II, MEDIEVAL SICILY, 800-1713; Volume III, MODERN SICILY AFTER 1713, by *Denis Mack Smith*. (New York: Viking Press. 1968. Pp. xv, 226; xvi, 240; 243-583. \$25.00 the set.)

NEITHER a civilization nor ever quite a nation, Sicily has for three thousand years shared the great moments of the Mediterranean world, often a center of its dominant cultures yet always identifiably separate and special. The history of Sicily is, first of all, a study in geographical determinism, but the many regimes on that island tell too of what a changing thing even geography is. Sicily was Greek when Greece was great, Roman during the Empire, attached to Byzantium in the Age of Justinian, Arab when Islam swept across the southern Mediterranean, Norman in the time of William the Conqueror, Spanish in the Golden Age, and Italian in the *Risorgimento*. A barometer of Mediterranean power, Sicily was always easy to conquer and hard to rule. And that, like geography, becomes a theme of Sicilian history. So does the varied and rich mixture of cultures, most striking perhaps under the Normans, when Greek, Roman, Arab, and Byzantine elements can be identified in a Western monarchy. Competing cultures have at all times contributed to Sicilian life and added to already numerous and bitter social divisions. Individual Sicilians have made important contributions in every aspect of culture and in every era. Yet, especially in these volumes, murder and brigandage, civil conflict and inequitable taxes emerge as the more "Sicilian" characteristic, and a distinctively Sicilian culture is recognizable only in the anthropologist's more generous sense.

Professor Finley writes of ancient Sicily with a caution that communicates the excitement of scholarship, balancing archaeological and written evidence and probing for signs of economic and social structure as well as political events. He uses his knowledge of the ancient world outside Sicily to particularly good effect, and Sicily provides a useful perspective in which Phoenician and Greek colonization, Carthaginian and Roman ambitions are naturally comparable. The Athenian invasion is less the glorious tragedy of Thucydides than the prelude to another invasion from Carthage, troubles in Syracuse, and the tyranny of Dionysius. The tyrant himself is treated in terms of what historians can know for sure rather than the ancient mythmaking and the speculations of philosophers which have supported his fame. Subsequent Sicilian tyrants are shown to be much like Hellenistic monarchs elsewhere. With the Roman conquest, Syracuse

(and Sicily) ceased to be an independent power, and Finley's description of the techniques and problems of Roman rule is as useful for understanding ancient Rome as it is for comprehending the tortured history of Sicily. The island's role in the spread of Christianity and the struggles of Byzantium was secondary, but Finley picks his way through conflicting interpretations, clear and cautiously decisive as always, to conclude with a striking claim: the discontinuity between the ancient and medieval worlds was greater in Sicily than anywhere in Europe.

In his turn Professor Mack Smith would seem to agree, but the ten pages he gives to Arab rule, which caused this break, parallel his interpretation of other reigns. While he can find little tangible evidence of persistent Arab influences after the eleventh century, he considers their rule on the whole to have been mild and even beneficial. Later, and against the weight of historical lore, he shows similar sympathy for the good intentions and frustrating experiences of Spanish and Neapolitan rulers. Medieval Palermo, like ancient Syracuse, was one of the world's great cities, but it is hard to establish in what sense either city represented a Sicilian culture. A similar difficulty inhibits the analysis of Norman and Hohenstaufen Sicily, when the island became the center of powerful monarchies, though Mack Smith does suggest that Frederick II's cosmopolitan curiosity may reflect his Sicilian background. Even in this exciting period of high culture, wealth, and power, Sicily remains somehow peripheral to its own history.

The turning point comes, in this interpretation, in the thirteenth century when Frederick II choked off the development of Sicilian cities (and of a bourgeoisie) though city-states were rising in northern Italy and, ironically, with the Sicilian Vespers. Mack Smith debunks the view that made 1282 a favorite moment of romantic historiography. He considers it not a patriotic rejection of foreign rule but rather the triumph of the barons, and their defeat of subsequent efforts to establish a modern state becomes a major theme. Under Aragonese, Spanish, Neapolitan, and Italian rule these privileged landholders subverted most efforts at reform and, while fighting among themselves or welcoming new invaders, convinced each conqueror in turn that even superficial peace could be purchased only by acknowledging their selfish claims. They planted the wrong crops, opposed commerce, consumed outrageously, ignored the law, and corrupted administration.

Mack Smith's history of Sicily thus becomes a study of frustrated modernization in a Western society that lacked an effective state. In these terms alone it should prove important to historians and political scientists who might not otherwise indulge in Sicilian history. Though the framework of the book remains essentially political (far-sighted viceroys like the Spanish Duke of Osuna or the Neapolitan Marquis of Caracciolo come as close to being heroes as this approach allows), almost half of the four hundred pages on Sicily since 1300 treat economic matters with a magnificent array of suggestive detail. The specifically Sicilian element in Sicilian history thus becomes, after geography, a peculiar social structure. In terms of modernization, what is especially Sicilian is historically retrograde, and this unsentimental view of Sicilian particularism is sure to raise many anguished cries. There is no effort here to identify any Sicilian schools of thought or Sicilian artistic styles, nor much admiration for any Sicilian values. Neither is this a study in historical anthropology or one that uses the elaborate techniques of demographic analysis. But these gracefully written volumes deserve close reading for they provide a sophisticated assessment in which primary sources and secondary literature are effectively combined, and the incidental information the records preserve is used with remarkable skill. The chapters on eighteenth-century Sicily are a valuable addition to the general literature on that period, and the sections on

British influence during the Napoleonic Wars, on Garibaldi's venture, and on Sicily as an Italian province gain a historical perspective in which each becomes a stage in Sicily's slow and restive accommodation to economic and social change.

The challenging problems of writing a work of this scope for general reader and scholar alike are masterfully met by both authors. Because of excellent bibliographies, the absent footnotes are not sorely missed. These three volumes can be enjoyed together as an extraordinary panorama or probed bit by bit for information judiciously weighed and interpretations courageously ventured. Mack Smith concludes with balanced optimism for the future of a Sicily of oil derricks and highways, closely tied to the Italian Peninsula. For an island with so rich a history such prospects seem inadequately mundane, but, while honoring that richness, Finley and Mack Smith establish with scholars' scalpels that such nostalgia would be inhumane.

University of Michigan

RAYMOND GREW

LETTERE A GIOVANNI FERRI DE SAINT-CONSTANT. By *Johan Claes Lagersvård*. Edited with an introduction and notes by *Vittorio E. Giuntella*. [Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, Biblioteca scientifica. Series II: Fonti, Volume LV.] (Rome: the Istituto. 1968. Pp. xxix, 181.)

THE gentle custom of copious letter exchanges between friends was given a body blow when Alexander Graham Bell, or Antonio Meucci as the Italians prefer, put together the telephone. Though wiretapping may transcribe staccato conversations for the future, leisurely correspondence, on which much good history has been based, seems a vanishing art. What is here are 114 letters in French, dated 1798-1830, from Swedish diplomat Johan Claes Lagersvård, all except the first to his Gallicized Italian friend, Giovanni Ferri de Saint-Constant. The Swede was usually at the Florentine station. Ferri's best job was rector of Napoleon's Imperial Academy at Rome. Editor Giuntella's introductory essay suggests that the documents, which meticulously report the Italian literary scene, offer small coinage for political history. I disagree. There are materials on European public opinion and Tuscan court craft in the days of the Grand Duchess Elisa Bonaparte Baciocchi, Grand Dukes Ferdinand III and Leopold II, and these alone justify printing.

It is curious to have a Swedish witness for a *Risorgimento* source. Like the Marquise de Sévigné in another century, the writer merits attention through comment on his times rather than achievement before the public. The historian of journals and periodicals will enjoy meeting a liberal gentleman who was interested in everything and *au courant* concerning the latest fashions in ideas. Lagersvård borrowed books and scrutinized magazines, dissecting each with a phrase. As Thomas Babington Macaulay might say, "Intimate acquaintance with the anfractuosités of his intellect and temper" is inviting. Talk about books is usually good talk; hence the letters are stimulating to read.

Italy's *Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano*, headed by the distinguished Alberto Ghisalberti and the able Emilia Morelli, is to be congratulated for this publication. Leopold von Ranke thought it a serious loss if he had not seen every document; similarly, the Italian specialist will be poorer if he has not seen these letters. While the *Istituto* house organ, *Rassegna storica del Risorgimento* (LVI [Jan.-Mar. 1969], 92), in a review by Alberto Aquarone, demurs over a brace of trifling footnote imprecisions, I rate Giuntella's performance very highly.

University of Miami

DUANE KOENIG

BANCHE, GOVERNO E PARLAMENTO NEGLI STATI SARDI: FONTI DOCUMENTARIE (1843-1861). In three volumes. Edited by *Ernesto Rossi* and *Gian Paolo Nitti*. ["Studi," Number 3-5.] (Turin: Fondazione Luigi Einaudi. 1968. Pp. xcvi, 755; 770-1503; 1518-2196.)

THE documents collected in these three volumes provide a detailed, one is tempted to say definitive, study of the emergence of the banks of issue in Piedmont. Commencing with the tentative attempts to establish the Bank of Genoa, the story is traced through the expansion of the National Bank of Sardinia, the nucleus of the future Bank of Italy. Beyond this, these documents provide the first chapter in the complex history of the intimate relationship between government and private interests in the development of Italian capitalism.

Divided into fourteen sections, the material in each is prefaced by an introduction that provides a brief description of the ensuing documents and places them in perspective. Part I deals with the birth and development of banking legislation in Piedmont by tracing the creation and early career of the Bank of Genoa. In the subsequent section the banking policy and practice of the Savoyard monarchy are recorded as Cavour and a small group of capitalists endeavor to incorporate the Bank of Turin as an institute permitted to issue bank notes along the lines of the Bank of Genoa.

Parts III-VII examine the impact of the First War of Independence upon the banking system, the union of the Banks of Genoa and Turin to form the National Bank, the abortive attempt to establish a possible rival, Parliament's intervention in the matter by the conclusion of the country's first banking law, and, finally, the incorporation of a small, second bank of issue. Parts VIII-X delve into Cavour's fervid but futile attempts to have the notes of the National Bank recognized as legal tender, to entrust some of the functions of the Treasury to the bank, to create a separate institute of issue on the island of Sardinia with the assistance of the National Bank, and otherwise to strengthen the latter institution. The three remaining sections dwell upon the financial repercussions of Piedmont's dynamic foreign policy and the adjustments made by the country's credit institutes as the peninsula rushed toward unification.

The records used in this work are varied. Prior to Charles Albert's concession of a liberal press law and Parliament, events are traced through the minutes of the various organs of the old regime such as the Council of State. Later, parliamentary reports and debates constitute an indispensable source of information. In order to bring the picture drawn by official documents into sharper focus, the editors have relied upon private papers such as the reports and minutes of the administrative agencies of those credit institutes whose archives have been preserved.

Together the documents and commentary provide valuable insights into some of the economic aspects of the *Risorgimento*. They reveal the strain imposed upon a small state when it seeks to realize its economic potential by reorganizing its credit structure and the opposition engendered when important public functions are entrusted to a powerful, private concern. The sources clearly expose the conflict between the doctrinaires who sought complete liberty of action in the area of banking and the pragmatists of Cavour's stamp who favored a single bank of issue to control credit and regulate the economic mechanism of the state. Above all, the sources gathered here reveal the pivotal position financial reform played in Cavour's political program.

St. John's University, New York

FRANK J. COPPA

MUSSOLINI IL FASCISTA. Volume II, L'ORGANIZZAZIONE DELLO STATO FASCISTA, 1925-1929. By *Renzo De Felice*. [Biblioteca di Cultura Storica, Number 92/II.] ([Turin:] Giulio Einaudi Editore. 1968. Pp. x, 600. L. 6,000.)

THIS volume carries what is surely the most scholarly, detailed history of Mussolini's Italy through the Lateran Treaties and the "plebiscite" of March 24, 1929. As in the two preceding volumes, Professor De Felice immerses himself and the reader in the documents in an effort to be exhaustive and objective. Even more than in the earlier volumes, however, Mussolini is the backdrop for the description of events, rather than the other way around. De Felice is writing history, not biography, despite the disclaimer in his preface. Indeed, by concentrating on "the complexity of the situations and on their objective internal logic," the author unwittingly portrays his protagonist somewhat differently than he intends. On the one hand, Mussolini often seems merely to respond to situations rather than to shape them; on the other hand, he seems more consistently successful in mastering these situations than was actually the case. This picture is further distorted by the postponement of any discussion of foreign policy until the next volume, for it was here, especially, that Mussolini forced issues with less than complete mastery. Undoubtedly, this unintentional distortion will be corrected when we have De Felice's complete picture.

The two main themes of this volume are the relations between the emerging Fascist regime and its conservative "collaborators"—the King, the army, big business, the ruling bureaucracy, and, finally, the Church—and the development of a progressively autonomous dictatorial apparatus. De Felice also highlights the depoliticization of the Fascist party, which occurred partly because Mussolini distrusted it and partly because, unlike Communist Russia and Nazi Germany, Fascist Italy retained the monarchy, which would have been out of place in a state dominated by the party. These developments are all described in elaborate detail and with many ramifications. One still asks: must all these details be taken at face value? Was there not considerable irony in the "conjuncture" of Mussolini's regime and the Italian people? (Mussolini himself thought so later on.)

De Felice is quite right to abjure "literature" and "sociology" as substitutes for "concrete history"; yet even the historian should offer some over-all explanation of the facts he describes. De Felice says that Mussolini's personal rapport with the masses was the strongest feature of the regime; at the same time he denies this rapport much substance. Then he cites Hannah Arendt, Gyorgy Lukács, and George Mosse on fascism with an ill-disguised impatience toward Central European theorizing. From now on, at least, all scholarly explanations of Mussolini's regime will have to be based on De Felice's facts. His work is a mine of judiciously presented information and bibliographical references, and it is unlikely that future scholars will turn up any substantial new material on the subject. De Felice and his assistants have covered the field thoroughly.

New York University

EDWARD R. TANNENBAUM

ACTA MVSEI NAPOCENSIS. Volume V. Edited by *C. Daicoviciu et al.* (Cluj: Comitetul de Stat pentru Cultură și Artă, Muzeul de Istorie. 1968. Pp. xi, 628.)

THE fifty-three articles in this collection, which vary in length from three to fifty pages, cover the history of Rumania from Neolithic times to 1948 and consist of interpretive essays, reports of archaeological excavations and descriptions of the objects uncovered, articles based upon archival research, and parts of large-scale works in progress. The

emphasis is on the history and culture of the inhabitants of Dacia before the Roman conquest and during the succeeding century and a half of Roman rule—twenty articles in all. In addition, two articles deal with the problem of Daco-Roman continuity. Second in coverage is the period from the Revolution of 1848 to the union of Transylvania with Rumania in 1918—eleven articles altogether. The least attention has been paid to the period since the First World War: one article on the Rumanian reaction to the Munich Agreement and three on the installation of the new regime in 1944–1948.

The group of articles on the Geto-Dacians attempts to show how highly developed their cultural and economic life was before the Roman conquest and how closely linked they were to the civilization of the Mediterranean world. Of special interest are Hadrian Daicoviciu's analysis of the main forces behind the development of Dacian civilization, I. Winkler's description of Geto-Dacian coinage, C. Váczky's study of Dacian plant names in the works of Dioscorides and Pseudo-Apuleius, and I. H. Crişan's criticism of the theory that Getan culture along the lower Danube was more advanced than that of the Dacians in the Carpathian Basin. Dacia as a Roman province is described in articles by Ştefan Ferenczi on Trajan's military frontier along the northwestern boundary and by Andrei Bodor who compares Roman provincial art in Britain and Dacia.

Noteworthy contributions to local history in the so-called feudal period are the detailed report by Ştefan Pascu and others on the excavations at Dobâca, north of Cluj, which have uncovered important new material for the history of the ninth to fifteenth century, and the study by Ştefan Imreh and Camil Mureşan of village administration at the end of the eighteenth century based upon hitherto unused financial records.

The essays on the nineteenth century deal primarily with the national movement and industrialization. Pompiliu Teodor studies the work of the historian Aaron Florian as a representative of the Romantic tradition in Rumanian historiography. C. Enea, who describes the discontent of Transylvanian soldiers in the Austro-Hungarian Army in 1914–1918, and Ioan Gáll, who studies the contribution of Rumanian workers to the union of Transylvania with Rumania, elucidate the problem of the collapse of the Habsburg monarchy. Ludovic Vajda describes the recruitment of the poor peasantry for industry, and A. Egyed, the growth of heavy industry in the second half of the nineteenth century in Transylvania.

The volume as a whole maintains a high level of scholarship and should prove valuable to those interested in the history of the Rumanians of Transylvania.

University of Illinois, Champaign

KEITH HITCHINS

CYPRUS. By *H. D. Purcell*. [Nations of the Modern World.] (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1969. Pp. 416. \$9.00.)

ALL of the long history of Cyprus is packed into this volume; about half of it discusses the period since 1955, however, and it is the most satisfactory account of the troubled island in recent times. Purcell knows modern Cyprus through two visits. His best chapter, the first, rests on his findings. It surveys land and people, government and economy, the Greek-Turk conflict and the United Nations presence, and British bases located there. Purcell begins with his conclusion: the Greek-Turk problem on the island cannot be solved "as long as each group retains its corporate identity." His own solution, however distressing to the Turkish minority, is therefore repatriation and compensation of the Cypriote Turks.

Four chapters cover the island's early history to Alexander; the Ptolemies, Romans, and Byzantines; Richard the Lion-Hearted, the Lusignan dynasty, and Venetian rule;

and the Ottoman dominion from 1571 to 1878. While these chapters are full of information that is sometimes more detailed and more recent than Doros Alastos gives in *Cyprus in History*, they do not, of course, replace Sir George Hill's four-volume *History of Cyprus*. These chapters are also, unfortunately, often cluttered. The Lusignan house is taken reign by reign. Purcell speaks of the "inadequacy of Turkish records," but there is no indication that he attempted to use the records in the Istanbul archives; his only unpublished sources seem to be oral. Occasional historical errors in these chapters are peripheral to Cyprus, as, for instance, distortion of the terms of the Treaties of Kuchuk Kainarji and Unkiar Skelessi.

A one-hundred-page chapter on the British period, from 1878 to 1960, describes fairly the growing of *enosis* sentiment, the 1930 riots, and EOKA's terrorist campaign under Grivas from 1955 to 1958. Purcell charges the British with "creeping paralysis of the will," a theme to which he recurs with digs at the want of vigorous action. The final chapter, of equal length, carefully shows that the 1960 Constitution did not, or was not allowed to, work and chronicles the Greek-Turkish fighting on the island after December 1963 and the intervention by the United Nations, Greece, and Turkey.

Throughout the book, Purcell impartially praises, condemns, and steps on the toes of all. He admires Makarios, yet he is sure that Makarios accepted the 1960 Constitution insincerely. Dr. Fazıl Küçük and other Turkish leaders, and the two sides in general, are realistically presented. If the account has a weakness, it is that the positions of Turkey and Greece are sketched rather than filled in fully; the book is truly focused on Cyprus. It has twenty-nine photographs and five good maps, including one large foldout, which unfortunately identifies only a modest portion of the places mentioned in the text.

George Washington University

RODERIC H. DAVISON

STEPHEN SZÉCHENYI AND THE AWAKENING OF HUNGARIAN NATIONALISM, 1791-1841. By *George Barany*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. xviii, 487. \$15.00.)

PROFESSOR Barany's work about the great Hungarian reformer, on which he worked painstakingly for many years, is a welcome first in American historical literature for the introduction of Széchenyi to the English-speaking reader in a comprehensive scholarly study has been long overdue. Whether, in line with what now appears to be the slightly receding spirit of our times, such a biography had to be focused chiefly on the rise of the national problem may remain an open question. Certainly it is legitimate to perceive Széchenyi primarily as the champion of an evolutionary conservative nationalism who holds his place between the moderately enlightened Magyar aristocracy of the late eighteenth century and the new Kossuthian radicalism of the pre-March era. Yet it would be equally suggestive to see Széchenyi primarily as the reformer within the eastern part of the Habsburg Empire and only secondarily as one of the heralds of a new national, soon to be nationalistic, Renaissance. If this line had been pursued, it could have led to interesting results. Barany has already opened several new vistas regarding Széchenyi's view on foreign affairs and his political philosophy that complement the traditional picture of the social and cultural reformer.

A strong feature of this study is its readability; at times, however, the author expects too much background knowledge from the reader. Also, when even the scholarly English-speaking public is not fully conversant with the topic covered, an old-fashioned bibliography might have been more useful than the perceptive bibliographical essay

which is based, more or less, on the assumption of basic familiarity both with the literature on Széchenyi and with his own writings, above all the famous diaries.

These observations do not diminish the value of Barany's always solid, generally perceptive, and partly brilliant book. They merely point to the fact that a volume dealing with the somewhat isolated topic not of Central European history but of the knowledge of Central European history has to make certain concessions to the reader without, to be sure, compromising scholarly qualities. Since the author is fully qualified to master this difficult problem, we may look forward with justifiably keen interest to the publication of the second volume of this truly commendable work.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

ROBERT A. KANN

INTELIGENCJA ZAWODOWA WARSZAWY, 1905-1907 [The Professional Intelligentsia of Warsaw, 1905-1907]. By *Halina Kiepuska*. [Instytut Historii Polskiej Akademii Nauk.] (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe. 1967. Pp. 386. Zł. 40.)

THE subject of this doctoral dissertation is the involvement of Warsaw's professional intelligentsia in revolutionary activities from 1905 to 1907. In the "professional intelligentsia" Kiepuska includes not only lawyers, doctors, dentists, pharmacists, writers, journalists, actors, priests, teachers, engineers, and civil servants, but also all white-collar workers in business and industry, the post office, and telegraph offices, and, particularly, the railroads. The first chapter provides some interesting statistics. In 1904 Warsaw had 958 doctors, 218 dentists, and 399 attorneys. In the next nine chapters, arranged chronologically, Kiepuska shows that there was a significant participation of the professional intelligentsia in the revolutionary tide that engulfed Warsaw, as well as Russian Poland and the whole Russian Empire. She describes in some detail every strike in Warsaw during that period, the formation of professional organizations, and the expansion and decline of illegal activities. The study is devoted to Leftist, particularly socialist, activities; those of the National Democrats, which had perhaps greater involvement of the intelligentsia, are hardly mentioned.

This shallow, poorly written book has a clear Marxist bent. It is based mainly on the contemporary press and professional journals and, to some extent, on the *Polska Partia Socjalistyczna* and *Sociał Demokracja Królestwa Polskiego i Litwy* archives.

University of Georgia

ZYGMUNT J. GASIOROWSKI

NICOLAE TITULESCU'S DIPLOMATIC ACTIVITY. By *I. M. Oprea*. [Bibliotheca Historica Romaniae, Studies, Number 22.] (Bucharest: Publishing House of the Academy of the Socialist Republic of Romania. 1968. Pp. 188. Lei 7.75.)

NICOLAE Titulescu was the most distinguished Rumanian diplomat of the interwar period. His international reputation rests primarily on his work as president of the twelfth session of the League of Nations and as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the 1930's. In these capacities he advocated international reconciliation and normalization of European relations with the Soviet Union. He is also known for his opposition to German and Italian totalitarianism and for his proposals to establish a system of collective security in Europe.

The revival of interest in the activities of Titulescu is directly connected with the emulation of the policies identified with him by the current leaders of Rumania. In Oprea's book, which appeared in 1968, the accent is placed on Titulescu's "orientation

in foreign politics" characterized by the promotion of "advanced patriotic ideas conducive to the defense of Romania's national independence and territorial integrity." That characterization has been applied also to the policies of Nicolae Ceausescu before, during, and after the Czechoslovak and corollary Rumanian crises of August 1968.

The purpose of the volume is to emphasize the continuing validity of Titulescu's ideas and actions rather than to analyze those ideas and actions themselves. Nevertheless, students concerned only with Rumanian foreign policy between the two world wars will also find Oprea's characterization of Titulescu, the man and the diplomat, remarkably objective, and the chronological account of his diplomatic activities readable and informative.

University of Colorado

STEPHEN FISCHER-GALATI

HUNGARY'S WAY TO WORLD WAR II. By *Nandor A. F. Dreisziger*. [Problems behind the Iron Curtain Series, Number 5.] (Astor Park, Fla.: Danubian Press. 1968. Pp. 239. Cloth \$5.00, paper \$4.00.)

THIS is the first history, in a Western language, of Hungarian foreign policy in the interwar years. There are many magazine articles, memoirs, diaries, and such general histories as C. A. Macartney's monumental *History of Hungary 1929-1945*, but the only specialized accounts so far of interwar diplomacy have been in Hungarian. Moreover, the present study is based on documentary collections recently published in Hungary, which Macartney was not able to see. But, since Mr. Dreisziger had no access to Hungarian archives and his book is relatively short, it should be used in conjunction with Macartney's *History* and the Hungarian publications.

Dreisziger writes well; he is moderate, judicious, and a thorough researcher. He does away with many Western myths, such as the quasi-dictatorial rule of Admiral Horthy and Hungary's enthusiasm for armed collaboration with Hitler's Germany. He also points to the inconsistency of Communist historians who call the Hungarian leaders "fascists" and then scold them for refusing to take up arms against fascist Germany. He makes amply clear the dual aim of post-1933 Hungarian foreign policy: trying to resist the expansion of German influence and, at the same time, seeking to revise Hungary's frontiers. Such revisionism was inevitable in view of Hungary's justifiable territorial grievances and public pressure on the government; the attempt to resist German encroachments was a voluntary move perpetrated by the best politicians in Hungary. Since the price exacted by Hitler for each of his territorial gifts was increasingly high, Hungary inevitably fell under the sway of Germany. All this is properly emphasized. What is glossed over in the author's vigorous defense of such men as Foreign Minister Kánya, Prime Minister Teleki, and even Horthy, is that public pressure for immediate territorial revision had been stimulated by these very same leaders in two decades of chauvinistic propaganda and that the presence of all the pro-Nazi traitors in the cabinet and the army was also the result of the counterrevolutionary tradition of Horthy's Hungary.

Columbia University

ISTVAN DEAK

AUX ORIGINES DE LA HIÉRARCHIE LATINE EN RUSSIE: MGR STANISLAS SIESTRZENCEWICZ-BOHUSZ, PREMIER ARCHEVÊQUE-MÉTROPOLITAIN DE MOHILEV (1731-1826). By *André Arvaldis Brumanis*. [Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux d'histoire et de philologie, Fourth Series, Number 40.] (Louvain: Bureaux du Recueil, Bibliothèque de l'Université; distrib. by Éditions Nauwelaerts, Louvain. 1968. Pp. xxx, 387. 550 fr. B.)

IN our days the name of Monsignor Stanislas Siestrzencewicz-Bohusz, the metropolitan archbishop of Mohilev, is hardly familiar either to historians of Russia, or even to those interested in the Church history of its people. In the Age of Catherine the Great and Alexander I, however, the prestigious personality of the archbishop of Mohilev was well known to Russian statesmen as well as to the Roman *Curia*. As a matter of fact, this aristocratic archbishop was, in deed if not in name, the primate of the Catholic Church in Russia, which he administered with success, devotion, and authority. A Protestant by birth, he became a Catholic clergyman by conviction. After the first partition of Poland in 1772, a considerable territory with a Catholic population became a part of the Russian Empire, and the government of Catherine II designated him head of the Roman Catholic Church there. In the 1790's, after the second and third partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian state, Bohusz' flock and his administrative duties increased tremendously, complicating his task still further. Neither Catherine II, Paul, nor Alexander I persecuted their Catholic population; they aimed, however, at weakening the ties with Rome and did their best to control the Church from St. Petersburg. In this respect Russia, to a considerable extent, followed the example of the French kings and the Austrian Emperor Joseph II, who placed the Catholic hierarchy under the authority of the state. Bohusz was certainly firmly attached to the Catholic Church, but, at the same time, he did not object to a certain freedom from the Vatican and hardly resented Russian efforts to give the Catholic hierarchy in Russia a greater independence from Rome.

Dr. André Brumanis has succeeded in producing an excellent piece of research that further illuminates Russian policies regarding the tsar's Catholic subjects and St. Petersburg's relations with Rome. The book is based, primarily, on the Vatican Archives and Western historical sources. Russian materials were not covered to the same extent. Probably Brumanis was not permitted access to the documents preserved in the archives of the Soviet Union, but he could have made wider use of Russian publications dealing with the politics of the tsarist government toward the Catholic Church.

Vanderbilt University

SERGE A. ZENKOVSKY

LENIN AND THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION. By *Harold Shukman*. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1967. Pp. 224. \$5.95.)

ON this book's jacket and on its title page, the *Lenin* of the title stands out in block print. This would tend to suggest that Lenin stands out in Shukman's study. The jacket, moreover, tells us that Shukman, a research fellow at St. Antony's College, Oxford, is "specializing in the background to the Russian Revolution" and goes on to state that he has "made clear" the roles of individuals and groups, that he has "explored fully" the political and ideological differences among the many factions, and that he has "explained with admirable precision" the theories, programs, and controversial events.

Normally an author should not be held altogether responsible for the print used in

his book's title or for the blurb on his book's jacket. But in this case one must assume the author to be responsible, for the jacket statement does describe what he set out to do, or perhaps it was what he hoped he had somehow done upon completing the book.

Hazarding a guess, I would reconstruct the evolution of this book in the following manner: Mr. Shukman tried to demonstrate the existence of a vital relationship between Lenin and the Russian revolutionary movement from the 1890's through World War I. After much work he found himself unable to do so, the reason being that prior to 1917 such a relationship is simply not evident. Despite the many tomes of hindsight scholarship dedicated to early Bolshevik history, Lenin played a relatively minor part in the prewar Russian revolutionary movement. Shukman, in effect, admits this by pointing out that Lenin was forever being driven into isolating himself from the mainstream of Russian Marxism, and was obsessed with the need to construct a party of personal devotees, whose loyalty to the clique had to stand the test of the constant schisms demanded by the leader. A further denial of the Lenin-centered revolution, suggested by Shukman's title, is the author's convincing depiction of Mil-yukov's Cadets as the true spearhead of the pre-1914 political tendencies of the Russian people. When he finally arrives at 1917, Shukman proves himself to be incompetent with respect both to Lenin and to the events of that year.

This book is, nevertheless, worthy of scholarly comment. For Shukman writes very well, and he has, in his initial 150 pages, presented one of the more judicious treatments of the closing Romanov decades. Because of his concise style and his talent for making complex analyses in a few lines, the brevity of this book is deceptive. The jacket statement correctly evaluates Shukman as a specialist in the "background" of the Revolution. His mistake was to try to make the pre-1917 Lenin larger than life, and he was far beyond his depth when he waded out into the treacherous currents of 1917.

City College of New York

STANLEY W. PAGE

FIFTY YEARS OF COMMUNISM: THEORY AND PRACTICE, 1917-1967. By G. F. Hudson. (New York: Basic Books. 1968. Pp. vii, 234. \$5.95.)

FIFTY YEARS OF COMMUNISM IN RUSSIA. Edited with an introduction by Milorad M. Drachkovitch. [Publication of the Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, Number 77.] (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 316. \$7.50.)

THE SOVIET UNION: A HALF-CENTURY OF COMMUNISM. Edited by Kurt London. [Published in co-operation with the Institute for Sino-Soviet Studies, the George Washington University.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 493. Cloth \$12.00, paper \$2.95.)

THE IMPACT OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION, 1917-1967: THE INFLUENCE OF BOLSHEVISM ON THE WORLD OUTSIDE RUSSIA. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. vi, 357. \$7.50.)

The golden anniversary of the Russian Revolution resulted in a spate of encomiastic publications in the Soviet Union, few of which were scholarly or helpful, and in a series of studies in the West, of which these four books are a representative sample. Perhaps anniversaries, with their forced retrospection and imposed meanings, are not the best occasions on which to attempt to sum up and interpret major historical events. Certainly this group of books is disappointing; despite the merit of individual articles in them, they provide no general framework, no over-all theme, no basic conceptualization

for analyzing and understanding the significance of the Revolution and of the Soviet and international Communist experience. For example, nowhere in these four works are the Russian and French Revolutions compared on a grand scale; there is no consideration of the extent to which Communist revolutions have been attempts to fulfill and complete certain aspirations of the Enlightenment, or to achieve a basically humane adjustment of society (whatever the means and failures). Even the interaction of nationalism and Communism, certainly a key to understanding the modern world, is treated sketchily in only a few of the essays. Finally, Soviet Communism, as a mature and developed system, receives scant attention.

This lack of a historic-philosophic mold is not so much the fault of the editors and authors as it is a reflection of the peculiar state of Soviet and Communist studies in the West, a field that has produced remarkably good monographs and specialized insights but very little generalization or interpretation. It is probably also the result of the present fluid and uncertain stage of the evolution of Communism in Russia and the world. Ten, or even twenty, years ago it would have been possible to assess the meaning of the Revolution primarily as a challenge to the West, as a great contest of power and ideology between the Soviet bloc and the "free world." But today the appeal of Communism as an instrument for development and modernization, the lessening intransigence of Soviet foreign policy, the rise of China, and the emergence of various types of Communist systems and parties have obscured the simplicistic issues of cold war days.

These four books fall into two categories: Professor Hudson, an Oxford specialist on the Far East, provides a competent brief summary, by a single author, of the history of Communism; the other three are collections of articles by Sovietologists and other specialists. The survey by Hudson, addressed to the nonspecialist reader, is a straightforward, concise, yet reasonably comprehensive chronological account of the evolution of Communism. On the whole it is clear, simply written, and generally accurate, despite its occasional reliance on dubious sources (for example, the memoirs of "Orlov," a discredited witness), a rather oversimplified and therefore misleading description of Khrushchev's fall, and a strangely unbalanced interpretation of Yalta and of FDR's attitudes toward the postwar world. Nevertheless, Hudson brings out the important point of Soviet dissolution of the Polish Communist party in 1937, a clear prelude to the Nazi-Soviet Pact of 1939. Hudson's book is an adequate introduction to the subject, more complete and up to date yet less incisive and analytical than similar works by R. Daniels (*Nature of Communism*) and A. Meyer (*Communism*). Because it is about a third as long, it is far less thorough and extensive than Seton-Watson's *From Lenin to Mao*.

The volumes edited by London and Drachkovitch are papers presented at fiftieth-anniversary conferences held, respectively, in Berlin and Stanford, while the study sponsored by the Royal Institute of International Affairs includes an introduction by Toynbee and four long, commissioned articles by European specialists on Communism. The last is probably the most useful volume overall, both because each author was given enough space to develop a full and coherent essay and because at least three of the contributors did adhere to the common theme of the book, successfully tracing the influence of Soviet Communism on Western socialism and the labor movement (McInnes), on non-Communist economic systems (Wiles), and on non-Communist political systems (Lowenthal). The article by McInnes, an Australian journalist working in Paris, is thoughtful and well founded; he demonstrates persuasively that the chief impact of Bolshevism, now largely spent, was to hinder the evolution of European socialism either to the Left, where Communism usurped the revolutionary goal of

radically changing society, or to the Right, where it interfered with the efforts of some socialists "to come to terms with a system they could no longer hope and no longer desired to overthrow." In his usual lively and often witty style, Wiles concludes that the Soviet economic model has had little influence outside the Communist bloc in terms of direct borrowing and imitation, though it has obviously acted as a spur to development and planning. Lowenthal reviews the origin of the Soviet model of the totalitarian one-party regime, correctly emphasizing the importance of Lenin's decisions in 1921 about parties and factions, and evaluates in this comparative light nationalist (Kemalist Turkey, Kuomintang China, selected African and Arab examples), one-party states, as well as fascist dictatorships. Unfortunately, his terms of reference exclude discussion of variant Communist models such as Yugoslavia and Cuba, which probably provide an even more instructive basis for comparison. Seton-Watson's essay on "Nationalism and Imperialism" is a bit disappointing; while it is an adequate review, it adds nothing, however, to earlier discussions of this topic, to which, to be sure, Seton-Watson himself has importantly contributed.

Both the symposium of the Royal Institute and the other two collections of articles suffer the general defects of their genre: unevenness in quality and style and a *mélange* of specialized and general material. For example, in the volume edited by London the fifteen articles range from brief impressionistic sketches, such as that by Mehnert on Soviet-German relations, through useful general summaries that are often based on the authors' previous detailed research, such as those by Skilling on opposition and interest groups in Communist politics, by Kolkowicz on the party and the army, and by Schiller on the evolution of Soviet agriculture, to fairly detailed studies, such as those by Feldmesser on function and ideology in Soviet social stratification, by Hardt and Modig on Soviet industrial growth, and by Armstrong on Soviet policy in the Middle East. There are also some quite routine surveys (London on dualism in Soviet foreign policy) and articles that the rush of contemporary events has already outdated (Wolfe on Soviet military policy and Gyorgy on Soviet-East European relations). Thus, while some parts of the volume provide a useful introduction for the general, lay reader, and others interest the specialist in Soviet and Communist studies, it is not clear to whom the book is really addressed. At the same time, one of the best articles in any of the books, important for both specialist and nonspecialist, is Tucker's summary of the typology of Communist revolutions, which opens the collection edited by London.

Although, in the volume sponsored by the Hoover Institution, the editor, Drachkovitch, poses the theme of the relationship between the promise and the performance of the Russian Revolution, only a few contributors pursue it; most either make a token obeisance to it or ignore it entirely. While also suffering from a lack of coherence and of interpretation and from some unevenness, it is perhaps more comprehensive, consistent, and generally of better quality than the similar volume edited by London. It also limits itself primarily to the Soviet experience, but, included among its eleven essays are an excellent treatment of the dilemma of the writer (Hayward), a clear summary of Soviet politics (Schapiro), a useful overview of Soviet economic development, with a strong negative conclusion (Nutter), and an interesting though obviously highly speculative essay on the psychological traits of Soviet society and Soviet man (Feuer). There are also useful summaries, such as those by Hazard on law, by Lederer, who suggests a new periodization in the history of Soviet foreign policy, and by Garthoff on military affairs. Bertram Wolfe provides a well-written but familiar condemnation of Soviet despotism as the opening piece, while Sidney Hook concludes the volume with a vigorous defense of liberal and democratic values.

To the degree that historical anniversaries provide a stimulus to scholarly reflection, assessment, and rethinking, they serve a useful purpose. Perhaps these volumes reflect a little of this, but on the whole they are a restatement, without much justification, of the familiar, providing a few interesting analyses for the specialist and some handy summaries for the general reader.

Indiana University

JOHN M. THOMPSON

ISTORIIA MEZHDUNARODNYKH OTNOSHENII I VNESHNEI POLITIKI SSSR, 1917-1967 GG. [History of the International Relations and Foreign Policy of the USSR, 1917-1967]. Volume II, 1939-1945 GG. [1939-1945], edited by V. B. Ushakov; Volume III, 1945-1967 GG. [1945-1967], edited by I. A. Kirilin. [Institut Mezhdunarodnykh Otnoshenii, Kafedra Istorii, Mezhdunarodnykh Otnoshenii i Vneshnei Politik SSSR.] (Moscow: Izdatel'stvo "Mezhdunarodnye Otnosheniia." 1967. Pp. 374; 510.)

THESE are the last two volumes in an important survey prepared by distinguished scholars of the Institute of International Relations in Moscow. Volume II begins with events in Poland just after Hitler's invasion, proceeds to the study of military actions, interstate relations, and the great wartime conferences, and ends with an analysis of the international political consequences of the war. The main themes of this volume are that the "imperialist" Western Powers incessantly and deliberately worked for the Soviet Union's destruction, while the Soviet government followed policies that were simultaneously courageous, virtuous, and for the good of mankind. No new evidence is adduced to support either contention. Volume III, dealing with the postwar period, examines such topics as the development of the world socialist system, the cold war, the struggle of colonial peoples for freedom, the aggressiveness of the United States, disarmament, Vietnam, and the Soviet Union's leadership role in the 1960's. This volume attempts to demonstrate that the world socialist system under Soviet tutelage is advancing steadily toward world Communism and international peace, despite the evil machinations of imperialism and the inexplicable behavior of the Chinese Communists.

One searches these volumes for the new information and deeper insights that Soviet scholars, who surely have access to sources unavailable in the West, should be able to provide. But in the murky, Orwellian atmosphere in which these men work, presenting new information is apparently *verboten*, and personal insights, if they exist, are suppressed. The principal sources for this study, which might have been more aptly titled "The Crimes of the Imperialists," are the imperialists themselves—Churchill, Eden, Truman, Dulles, Kennan, Kennedy, Mann, and a variety of Western newspapers. As the narrative would have it, a depersonalized and dehumanized entity, the Soviet state, makes decisions that are always correct and nobly altruistic. It must be accounted an impressive tour de force that the authors have managed to mention Stalin by name perhaps no more than five times, while Molotov, Khrushchev, Brezhnev, Kosygin, and the Red Army's greatest generals are mentioned not at all. Meanwhile, in the outer darkness of the foreign world the faces of famous ogres like Churchill and Kennedy are lighted up now and then to frighten the reader. The over-all effect achieved is of a computer-like or God-like perfection in the policies of one side, while the policies of the other side are made by ravenous beasts.

Self-serving interpretations of international affairs skewed by sanctimonious ideological commitment and nationalist bias are all too familiar in history. Examples of

such skewing are numerous in these volumes. Russia's seizure of Bessarabia from Rumania in June 1940 is a nonhappening; that is, it is simply not discussed. The same is true of the Soviet effort to retain that portion of Iran occupied during the war and Stalin's break with Tito in 1948. One learns with interest that there was never any Soviet blockade of Berlin, "only a propaganda campaign accusing the Soviet Union of blockading Berlin." And, of course, the Hungarian uprising, "the imperialist states' greatest provocation," was perpetrated solely by Western intelligence agencies and radio stations. There were no missiles in Cuba, or, if there were, the authors consider the fact not worth reporting since they happen to know that the real cause of the missile crisis was the determination of President Kennedy and the United States to have a war. The ostrich-like unrealism of Soviet official thinking is superbly illustrated, when, after a discussion of Mao Tse-tung's deviations, János Kadar's statement at the Twenty-third Congress of the Soviet Communist party is quoted with approval: "There has never been an anti-Soviet Communism, and there will never be."

It is difficult to comment temperately upon a work in which nationalist self-righteousness disguises itself under the cloak of scholarship and parades its prejudices as if they were demonstrated truths. It is impossible in this century to forgive scholars of any nation for deliberately suppressing the embarrassing truth about their own nation in its international relations. To argue that the motives of any nation are absolutely pure is to betray mankind's millions who must depend upon the educated man for truth and for the achievement of a peaceful world. Surely, neither the Soviet nor any other scholar can usefully analyze the affairs of nations without desperately seeking to free himself from the trammels of parochialism, the distorting astigmatism of unenlightened nationalism. To do less is to betray our calling and our humanity. To my mind the collective authors of this work are guilty of such betrayal.

Michigan State University

ARTHUR E. ADAMS

Near East

RELIGION IN THE MIDDLE EAST: THREE RELIGIONS IN CONCORD AND CONFLICT. Volume I, JUDAISM AND CHRISTIANITY; Volume II, ISLAM. General Editor, *A. J. Arberry*. (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1969. Pp. xii, 594; xi, 749. \$22.50 the set.)

It is a loosely repeated generalization that the Arab-Israeli conflict was precipitated by the intrusion of an alien minority into a monolithic Arab hinterland. In fact, the "monolithic" Arab hinterland has for centuries been a heaving sea of contentious religions and cultures, an agglomeration of diversities whose abrasive interaction has been the central and transfixing fact of Middle Eastern history. Even the Jews themselves, the first of the great Western Asian religious civilizations, have shared this multiformity. Dispersed well before their final exile from Palestine, they syncretized the mores of numerically superior populations in Babylon, Egypt, and North Africa, and then later in Europe. The Christians, who dominated the Middle East at the apogee of the Eastern Roman Empire, abandoned administrative uniformity as early as the fourth century in favor of the sibling Patriarchates of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Their creedal uniformity was ruptured a century later in the Council of Chalcedon's abortive endorsement of a binatured deity. Except for Constantinople and the Greek-speaking provinces of the Empire, variant forms of Monophysitism gained the upper hand in Syria, in Armenia, and even in Ethiopia, while Nestorianism con-

solidated its grip on Christianity in Persia. It was the welter of these fractious groups that, in their mutual hostility both to Constantinople and to each other, made possible Islam's conquest of the Middle East, and, later, the pretensions of European imperialism to solicitude in the Levant.

The conquering Muslims were altogether as splintered by rite and dogma, by contention and conflict, as the *dhimmi* Jewish and Christian minorities who became their wards. They were disjointed, initially by geography and race, into rival camps of Sunni and Shi'a, and later into doctrines, sects, or movements as profuse as Wahhabi, Ibad, Ismaili, Ahmadiya, and Khoja, into mystic Sufistic brotherhoods and irascible Druzean schismatics. The nuances of their distinctiveness ultimately were translated into the animating culture codes of entire nations extending from Morocco to Zanzibar, from the Syrian littoral to the Persian Gulf, the Turanian interior of Asia Minor and southern Russia to Iran and Pakistan—the easternmost limits of the “Middle East,” as defined in this work. A. J. Arberry, professor of Arabic at Cambridge University, has organized the project of describing the history and current status of virtually the entire spectrum of these communities, rites, and dogmas. The undertaking is impressive in its very scope (over thirteen hundred pages), the thoroughness of its categorization, its meticulously prepared tables, maps, plates, bibliography, glossary, and index.

The essays themselves are a mixture. All of them, to be sure, are replete with factual data of the most useful kind. Jacob Petuchowski's survey of contemporary Judaism, for example, is a well-proportioned account of Jewish religious evolution during the past two centuries. Ironically, the development of Judaism in Western Europe and America has taken a more “progressive” form than in modern Israel itself, where the heritage of Jewry's former Ottoman millet status lingers on in the theocratic authority of the nation's chief rabbinate, an anachronism objectively described by Norman Bentwich, a former British mandatory official. S. D. Goitein's vignette of Yemenite Jewry, a gentle and pietistic desert community recently transplanted to Israel, is a gem of lean, incisive scholarship in contrast to H. Z. Hirschberg's 127-page history of the Jews in Muslim North Africa and the Ottoman Empire, which is a diffuse and exhausting institutional chronology.

The balance and craft of Petuchowski and Goitein are fully matched in W. H. C. Frend's concise, lucid treatment of Middle Eastern Christianity down to modern times. Amply but selectively documented, the essay charts the social and cultural prefigurations of later schisms and hostilities. Frend's account, in turn, is paralleled by R. B. Sergeant's acute evaluation of the ethnic, political, and economic factors that shaped ideology and ritual. Here, to an even wider degree than among Jews and Christians, Muslim sectarianism was a profile of deeply rooted regional culture traits. Thus, Johannes Baljan's description of the vast Muslim population reservoir of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and India appropriately emphasizes the prelusive role of Indian mysticism in anticipating Sufistic Islam; even as the harsh, warlike qualities of the Berber mountain peoples infused a jihad ardor into Maghrib Islam which, as Adolphe Faure makes clear in his essay, lent a unique ferocity to Algerian nationalism in later centuries. Both G. E. Wheeler's article on Muslims in the Soviet Union (about 25,000,000) and Wayne Vucinich's account of Muslims in the Balkan Peninsula (about 5,000,000) wisely stint ritualistic classification to explore the more basic tensions between religious traditionalism and Communist theology. In a summary essay of memorable brilliance, 'Abd al-Tafahum analyzes the clash of doctrines in the Middle East by focusing on the territorial particularism implicit in the area's religious ideologies. Pakistan and Israel are two of its more recent and dramatic manifestations.

Useful in their erudition as these essays are, however, they evince a distinct qualitative difference between the contributions of scholars living or teaching in the West—Goitein, Frend, Sergeant, Baljon, and Vucinich among them—and those actually living or teaching in the Middle East. Charles Malik, for example, is an estimable Lebanese statesman-philosopher; yet his tone poem to the Orthodox Church as the authentic reflection of Middle Eastern “spirituality” is matched in dispassion by his observation that “no man can say that Jesus is the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost.” G. C. Anawati and Otto Meinardus, both clerics living in Cairo, find it necessary to refrain from mentioning the fate of the Catholic and Coptic communities in Egypt (the subject of their essays) from the moment of Nasser’s advent to power. Anawati, rather, intersperses his account with occasional apologies for the Egyptian President’s actions: namely, “almost in self-defence [Nasser] consented to the formation of the United Arab Republic.” The quite horrifying fate of the non-Muslim communities of Iraq is ignored altogether in Eric Bishop’s radiant account of Islam in the countries of the Fertile Crescent—although not, of course, the dangers of Zionism or Western insensitivity. One may legitimately criticize editorial judgment in selecting contributors whose historicity is likely to be tinted by religious allegiance or political circumspection. Yet perhaps even this tendentiousness conveys something of the passion and tension that traditionally have characterized the seething heterogeneity of Middle Eastern peoples.

George Washington University

HOWARD M. SACHAR

JOSEPH NASI, DUC DE NAXOS. By P. Grunebaum-Ballin. [École Pratique des Hautes Études—Sorbonne. VI^e Section: Sciences économiques et sociales. Études juives, Number 13.] (Paris: Mouton. 1968. Pp. 171. 36 fr.)

P. GRUNEBaum-BALLIN’s new study of Joseph Nasi deals with the history of the exiled Iberian Jews who, oppressed by Christian governments, wandered throughout sixteenth-century Europe until they became a tolerated minority within the multiple social structure of the Ottoman Empire.

Once established in Ottoman territories, the leaders of the Marrano community turned to the task of protecting their coreligionists. In the most interesting example of that effort, Nasi, in a sixteenth-century version of the return to Palestine, used his influence at the Ottoman court to establish a colony for Jewish exiles at Tiberias. Although this event raises the issue of Ottoman tolerance for other religions, the author does not examine the denominational relations between the Jewish community and Muslim society.

The history of this Marrano leader also yields important information on Mediterranean political activity in the sixteenth century. During the mid-century Protestant revolts in the Low Countries, European agents of Nasi’s commercial organization assisted an Ottoman attempt to exploit the discord within the Habsburg Empire. At the center of the Ottoman Empire, Nasi’s financial and international experience made him a close associate of Sultan Selim II (1566–1574). Reassessing the relation between this Sultan and his Jewish adviser, the author rejects the legend that Nasi corrupted the convivial Selim II with gifts of wine. Similarly, the theory that Nasi’s desire for vengeance influenced the decision to invade Cyprus in 1570 is disproved. Although Grunebaum-Ballin’s evidence on this point is European, Ottoman sources sustain the author’s judgment: the Cyprus invasion represented the continuation of a

long-standing Ottoman policy that aimed at controlling eastern Mediterranean shores and islands.

This short book, written in a lively style, adds to the fascinating story of the Sephardic community. One hopes that the effort to unearth more of its history will continue.

Temple University

ANDREW C. HESS

AN ISLAMIC RESPONSE TO IMPERIALISM: POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS WRITINGS OF SAYYID JAMĀL AD-DĪN "AL-AFGHĀNĪ." By *Nikki R. Keddie*. Including a translation of the "*Refutation of the Materialists*" from the original Persian by *Nikki R. Keddie* and *Hamid Algar*. [Published under the auspices of the Near Eastern Center, University of California, Los Angeles.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1968. Pp. xii, 212. \$7.50.)

IN the field of Near Eastern scholarship much attention of late has focused on the life, activity, and times of the fiery "religious" orator, Sayyid Jamāl ad-Dīn "al-Afghānī." Scholars have begun to probe into his life and have discovered an infinitely complex personality that influenced events in numerous Muslim countries—India, Afghanistan, Iran, the Ottoman Empire, and Egypt. Nikki Keddie, a prolific contributor to the scholarship on this controversial figure, has embarked on a vast biographical analysis which will culminate in what will probably be the definitive biography of al-Afghānī. The present work, though small in size, is an important step along the way.

The first chapter, an outline of the life of the man, clearly reveals Jamāl ad-Dīn's tormented trail of travel through the leading Muslim countries of his time. In the process, Keddie alludes to, and clearly outlines arguments for, the Iranian rather than Afghan origins of Jamāl ad-Dīn. She notes his periods of "disbelief," and she stresses how important his differing styles of communications to mass and "elite" audiences were for an understanding of the man. Finally, she underlines al-Afghānī's importance as the precursor—by his transformation of the "religious faith into an ideology of political use"—of Islamic political activism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Of particular importance in this short résumé of his life are an analysis of the sources hitherto used to reconstruct the life of the man and the unveiling of new sources that should provide a more complete picture, including new documents in various Near Eastern languages, new Persian scholarship, and new information from the British archives—the Foreign Office and the government of India. The remainder of the work is given over to a discussion of al-Afghānī's ideas and to a translation of some of his important writings.

Keddie sees the apparent contradiction and tension in al-Afghānī's works as "the conflict between a desire to Westernize and the need to avoid identification with the West. . . ." She goes on to treat, in a manner rarely done, the intimate relationship between al-Afghānī and the Islamic philosophical tradition. A brief look at al-Afghānī's Indian period (1880–1882) highlights dramatically some of the contradictions in his work: his encouragement, in Hindu-Muslim India, of "non-religious nationalism" (as against other preaching of Pan-Islamic unity); his positive stress on the benefits of modern science and philosophy (as against the apologetic doctrine, aimed at "Westernizers," that Islam automatically favors modern values). In this period and in this context, Jamāl ad-Dīn's attack on Indian "Westernizers" (naturalists and materialists)

becomes clearer: that cooperation with the British occupation would serve the interests of the Indian community was too much for al-Afghānī to bear.

Keddie then turns the reader's attention to a new look at al-Afghānī's famous works: the "Refutation of the Materialists" and the famous exchange with the Frenchman, Ernest Renan. The "Refutation," aimed primarily at Indian "Westernizers," was written, among other reasons, to support the Islamic system against those who favored a Western (British) one. The exchange with Renan came about in answer to Renan's lecture on "Islam and Science," published in 1883, a lecture that questioned the compatibility of Arabs and Islam with science. In his "Answer," contrary to other writings, al-Afghānī debated but essentially agreed that Islam suffers "stifling dogmatic rigidity." Unlike other observers, Keddie sees the "Answer" not as a lapse, but rather as suggestive of true beliefs because he spoke the truth only to elite audiences.

The narrative analysis of the work will be useful to students, who, along with their teachers, will also welcome the translations that comprise the second half of the work. For the first time a significant collection of the writings of al-Afghānī are now available in English, and so, for the first time, this controversial figure has had more life breathed into him.

University of Michigan

RICHARD P. MITCHELL

Africa

REBIRTH OF A NATION: THE ORIGINS AND RISE OF MOROCCAN NATIONALISM, 1912-1944. By *John P. Halstead*. [Harvard Middle Eastern Monographs, Number 18.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press for the Center for Middle Eastern Studies, Harvard University. 1967. Pp. x, 323. \$3.50.)

This searching inquiry rests upon critical reading in the available printed sources, some private papers, the press, including some Arabic newspapers, and interviews held with eighteen Moroccan leaders. The author conducted the interviews between 1958 and 1959 and in 1963, and his preface states that Margaret Pope introduced him to the inner circles of nationalist leadership. The interviews add an important dimension to our knowledge of the ideology and the action upon which early Moroccan nationalism rested.

Apart from providing a strong factual account of this relatively neglected period in the literature, Professor Halstead's study also generates an extremely fair-minded analysis of the various operative influences and the structures. Halstead never allows himself to become a determinist. Instead, he doggedly sticks to his task of explaining the genesis and early decades of Moroccan nationalist resistance; for him, the subversion of "the revered values of Muslim society" by the French Protectorate kindled the first cultural reaction. In defense, Moroccan thinkers turned toward the Near East where they found and imported such a religiously fundamentalist movement as *Salafiyya*, which advocated a return to basic religion as a means of achieving social regeneration.

Until roughly the time of the "Berber Dahir" of 1930, Western influence upon Moroccan nationalist thought remained slender. Thereafter, French work and thought habits increasingly influenced the small group of Moroccans who attended the French schools. The articles of faith that stemmed from the Enlightenment and the Revolution also passed from Paris to the various centers in Morocco. When it came to organizing and structuring the movement, a handful of nationalist leaders appropriated and adapted European techniques. It is ironic that, in order to avoid being assimilated, the

nationalists seemed to make use of "nearly everything France had to offer." Not quite everything, however: Morocco still remained Islamic, and, while it is abundantly true that one Moorish foot stands in the East and the other in France, rather than in Andalusia, in the nationalist struggle both cultural identity and ultimately political independence were goals whose achievement required an enormous range of tactics, luck, and a favorable international climate.

This fine book, which needs an index, merits a wide audience. It would be exciting and profitable for Halstead or another scholar to make a similar painstaking examination of Eastern and Western influences in Morocco since 1956.

Oakland University

RICHARD M. BRACE

THE BRITISH IN NORTHERN NIGERIA. By *Robert Heussler*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xxi, 210. \$5.95.)

PERHAPS we are far enough away now from the beginning of independence in Nigeria to be able to take a longer and somewhat more objective look at the accomplishments of British colonial rule. Northern Nigeria has always provided the classic stage for the debate on the merits of indirect versus direct rule in colonial Africa. Professor Heussler's research into the inner workings of indirect rule as it was practiced in Northern Nigeria, is based on private papers, many of which have been hitherto unavailable, and on conversations with officers who served in the area. Taken as a whole, the present work further illuminates both the day-to-day operation of colonial administration and the personality of some of the individuals involved. But it adds little to our understanding of the long-range effects of the British style of administration as opposed to what is frequently referred to as the direct rule of the French over Africans with the same cultural background. The author's conclusion serves, however, to confirm a judgment that has become clear since independence: that indirect rule became, at least in time, more of a shibboleth than an actuality. "The central dilemma of Indirect Rule versus Direct Rule was in practice never resolved. . . . The phrase 'Indirect Rule' accounts for much of the obscurity and confusion, conveying an impression of political apartness and lightness of touch that conflicts with what actually happened." Indeed, the accounts of their activities by the officers themselves reveal much stronger elements of direct rule than the theoretical prescription would ever have permitted.

Heussler takes social scientists to task for their application of theory to concrete African problems as if they were case studies and for their inclination toward comparative studies. Instead, he argues, African communities should be studied for their own unique contribution to knowledge. But in his preoccupation with colonial rule in Northern Nigeria, he fails to emphasize that this particular part of one colony was, for historic reasons, virtually *sui generis*. When the theory of rule developed for Northern Nigeria was applied elsewhere in Nigeria and in other African colonies, it was either a complete failure or had only limited success.

The author's feeling that "The Northern Nigerian experience with biracial government can be suggestive also for people whose present-day responsibilities are reminiscent of what the British faced not so long ago" is more than a little farfetched. The conditions either of pacification in Vietnam or of administration in the American Trust Territory of the Pacific Islands are scarcely those faced by the British rulers of the Northern Nigerian emirates when the British conquest took place almost three-quarters of a century ago.

Columbia University

L. GRAY COWAN

COLONIAL CADET IN NIGERIA. By *John Smith*. [Duke University Commonwealth-Studies Center, Publication Number 34.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press for the Center. 1968. Pp. 202. \$7.50.)

THIS work is an autobiographical account of a very junior British colonial officer stationed in Northern Nigeria between 1951 and 1956—a time of transition for Nigeria from colonial rule to independence, which was finally achieved in 1960. The author does not attempt to give us a picture of the exciting developments at the national level; the book is confined strictly to his immediate experiences. He argues that colonial administrators were more concerned with development than with law and order. This thesis is plausible for the period he describes but dubious when applied to earlier periods of colonial rule in Nigeria. Since the British were committed to the achievement of Nigerian independence by 1951, the duties of the author, who apparently was a colonial officer of exceptional initiative, were the establishment of adult literary programs and of district and village councils and the supervision of census taking.

The book reinforces points that are well known to students of Nigerian history and politics. British officials in Nigeria had marked pro-Northern sympathies. In the drive toward independence the North was handicapped because it successfully resisted Westernization, and serious tensions existed in the North between the Western-educated, the majority of whom were from the South, and the Hausa-Fulani Muslims (there is a passing reference to the Hausa-Ibo riots of 1953 that preceded the much more serious conflict of 1966, the latter being an immediate cause of war between Nigeria and Biafra). It was during this period of uneasy social relations that, for the first time, at least some colonial officers felt compelled to get to know Nigerians “as people.”

This clearly written account is enlivened by the author's sense of humor, which is best illustrated in his description of the mild confusion at the Durbar in Zaria when Queen Elizabeth II visited Nigeria in 1956. Because more than one-third of the volume consists simply of touring reports of the author as a colonial officer, its use, for the student of Nigerian history and politics, is only peripheral.

Columbia University

HOLLIS R. LYNCH

DINUZULU: THE DEATH OF THE HOUSE OF SHAKA. By *C. T. Binns*. ([London:] Longmans. 1968. Pp. xi, 305. 45s.)

THIS is C. T. Binns's second study of the Zulu royal house in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. His first, *The Last Zulu King: The Life and Death of Cetshwayo* (1963), dealt with Dinuzulu's father in the bitter years from 1873 to 1883. The Zulu War of 1879 and the deportation of Cetshwayo by the British effectively ended Zululand's ability to survive as an independent entity. This volume traces the final destruction of the Zulu kingdom through the life of Cetshwayo's heir. The expansion of the Boers, a vacillating British policy, and the political demands of Natal were Dinuzulu's main challenges. Further warfare, the breakdown of Zulu institutions, and the actions of British officials who could neither bring themselves to uphold the nation nor to annex it until later made Dinuzulu's attempt to preside over his people a tragic task. The area was transferred to Natal in 1897, and Dinuzulu, who had been exiled to St. Helena, returned to spend his last days as a minor chief, incapable of providing the leadership of rebellion sought by some of his people and unable to overcome the distrust of the government of Natal.

Binns provides an attractive portrait of Dinuzulu, complemented by good organization and a clear style. His sensitivity and his employment of interviews with the descendants of Cetshwayo give the volume a special appeal. Unfortunately, Binns's narrow biographical approach prevents a more probing analysis of the King's problems and actions. Dinuzulu's life, so hopelessly restricted by internal and external pressures, could mirror a significant proportion of South African history and clarify much that has been said about the Zulu political system. Binns does not take on this assignment. The book is somewhat weak and simplistic in describing the Boers, the levels and attitudes of British officialdom, and even the Zulu people. A stronger introduction, built upon observations from his first book, would have added to the portrait that Binns sought to provide.

University of Nebraska

LESLIE CLEMENT DULY

ORIGINS OF RHODESIA. By *Stanlake Samkange*. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 1969. Pp. ix, 292. \$9.00.)

"All Africans are liars" was a phrase never distant from the lips of whites in Central Africa. It constituted a refrain of justification for imperial advances, occupations, and conquests and, implicitly at least, animated the writings of many of the white chroniclers of Cecil Rhodes's drive to the north. Stanlake Samkange, however, has now subjected the dealings of whites and Africans in Rhodesia between 1887 and 1893 to careful scrutiny. What he finds comes as no surprise: whites, especially Rhodes and the men working with and for him, or for similar projects, used every available means, no matter how unscrupulous, to gain control over Matabeleland, the country of the powerful Chief Lobengula. They misread and forged documents, unfairly represented themselves as servants of Queen Victoria, obstructed Lobengula's attempts to apprise the Queen of the true state of affairs in the African interior, and even misled (or suborned) overseas officials of the Colonial Office.

Samkange, an eminent Rhodesian novelist, politician, journalist, and historian who now teaches in the United States, shows that many, if not all, of the whites who dealt with Lobengula were, at best, untrustworthy. Those upon whom he relied for accurate information and guidance were faithless, and his willingness for several years to listen to their reports and reassurances ultimately led—when Rhodes's men had gained a commanding position—to the destruction of his people's power. The concessions—each is examined line for line—to which Lobengula supposedly assented were either false or more limited than they were purported to be by the whites who stood to benefit. In sum, since this review is meant to be brief, the present book exposes the illegitimacy of the original white pretensions to the land that is now Rhodesia.

Others, both white and black, have drawn similar conclusions from the available evidence in Rhodesia, South Africa, and Britain, but no one else has so thoroughly examined and asked the correct questions of the records of the negotiations that preceded, made possible, and accompanied the granting of a royal charter to the British South Africa Company and led to the movement of the "Pioneer Column" into Rhodesia in 1890. (Without meaning to, Samkange has also demonstrated the extent to which imperial policy was made locally, by "the men on the spot," rather than magisterially in London.) Although his revisionism is based for the most part on parliamentary papers, confidential prints, and other published material, Samkange has also used private papers, especially those of E. M. Maund, a concessionaire, with imagination.

This is an important, if less than definitive, book. Yet it also is but another straightforward narrative of the plottings of Europeans in Africa rather than a history of their mutual interaction. To have based the study upon a judicious combination of indigenous and external sources—and no one is better prepared to assume this task than the author—would have enriched our understanding of the internal politics of Lobengula's court and contributed greatly to our understanding of the nature of African responses to hostile European advances during the last years of the nineteenth century.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

ROBERT I. ROTBERG

Asia and the East

THE COMMUNISTS AND CHINESE PEASANT REBELLIONS: A STUDY IN THE REWRITING OF CHINESE HISTORY. By *James P. Harrison*. [Studies of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University.] (New York: Atheneum, 1969. Pp. xi, 363. \$9.95.)

THIS book deals with the efforts of Chinese historians, mainly since 1949, to write the history of their country's peasant rebellions. It is addressed to an extended family of related historical issues, some as old and universal as the impressment of history into politics, and others as new and distinctively Chinese as Mao's little red book; in between are fundamental questions that preoccupy all historians but haunt Marxist historians of China. These include the causation, leadership, and ideology of Chinese peasant rebellions and the reasons for their failure.

A Chinese Communist historian finds these problems prickly because they lie deep in a tangled thicket of Marxist theoretical contradictions, traditional Chinese ambivalence, modern Chinese reversals of opinion, and the Chinese Communists' own unique experience and shifting ideological needs. Professor Harrison's willingness to follow numerous Chinese historians through these brambles and his attempt to chart their courses is scholarly enterprise of a high order, and he has given us an admirably lucid log. Readers of his earlier articles will be familiar with the thrust of his account and his major conclusions, but this book contains many additional data and will be welcomed by students of modern China and Communism.

The author has chosen fourteen peasant rebellions (in some cases, a prolonged series of rebellions) that occurred between 209 B.C. and A.D. 1900 and that have been extensively studied by Chinese historians. He identifies the changing consensus and emerging issues among historians and relates their studies to Marxist theory, traditional commentary, and modern non-Communist writings. Above all, Harrison views his subject as an episode in China's intellectual revolution, specifically "the communist attempt to recast the thought patterns of over 700 million Chinese." The history of China's peasant wars is aimed chiefly at indoctrinating intellectuals, "but there is also at least the beginning of fundamental change in the beliefs of the Chinese people as a whole." This change can be seen in newly favorable attitudes toward social conflict and class struggle, attitudes that have been inculcated by means such as the glorification of peasant rebellions. The author concludes that Communist historiography of peasant wars has "not furthered very much the understanding of this phenomenon in Chinese history" (a point that is not argued very systematically or persuasively) but has been highly successful in reaching its most important goal. In support of this conclusion, the author cites numerous writings of younger historians who are shown to be more radical in their emphasis on class struggle and more nationalist in their stress

on the Chinese peasants' unique revolutionary qualities than Western and other Chinese interpreters. Since they drown out other schools of historical interpretation, Harrison believes that their ideas have come to dominate Chinese intellectual life.

Perhaps China's intellectual revolution has not gone as far as Harrison suggests. Since China's intellectuals are still attacked for their "revisionism," and since they continue to be subjected to *hsia-fang* ("downward transfer" to the countryside) and to resent it, indications are that the mental *hsia-fang* in the history books has not, after all, been a great success. We shall have to see what becomes of the radical young Maoist historians whose emergence is so graphically portrayed in this fascinating book.

University of Washington

MICHAEL GASSTER

THE EXPANSION OF RUSSIA IN EAST ASIA, 1857-1860. By R. K. I. Quedsted.
(Kuala Lumpur: University of Malaya Press; distrib. by Oxford University Press,
New York. 1968. Pp. xxx, 339. \$9.75.)

RECENT events along the Ussuri River, which culminated in actual military clashes between Soviet and Chinese troops and renewed Chinese denunciations of the manner in which the Far Eastern areas of the Soviet Union were acquired in the middle of the nineteenth century, heighten the interest in Professor Quedsted's excellent study of events leading to the Russo-Chinese Treaty of Peking of 1860. The treaty granted formal recognition of Russian control in immense territories east and south of the Stanovoi Range, as well as a small amount of territory along the Central Asian borders of the two countries.

The author has made good use of both primary, especially Chinese, and secondary sources to produce a detailed account of Russian expansion into the border areas of northeastern China during the 1850's and Russian attempts to have this *de facto* control recognized officially by the government of China. After providing a brief historical background on Russian-Chinese relations during the first half of the nineteenth century, Quedsted describes three separate Russian diplomatic missions that were sent to China to negotiate, among other things, Chinese acceptance of Russian territorial demands. During the first of these missions, which was headed by Count E. V. Putiatin, the Russians were able to gain partial recognition of some of their territorial claims and the right to trade in areas that had been restricted until then.

When Piotr Perovskii, the head of the second mission, arrived in China to ratify the Treaties of Aigun and Tientsin, which recognized Russian control of the entire right bank of the Amur River and established dual administration in the areas between the Ussuri and Amur, he succeeded in getting the Chinese to ratify only the Treaty of Tientsin, which dealt primarily with trade arrangements and not with a formal cession of the territory involved. Finally, in November 1860, after Peking fell to Western troops, Count N. P. Ignatiev, leader of the third Russian mission, was able to extract from the Chinese a recognition of Russian claims.

Quedsted admirably shows the Russian ability to use Chinese fears of English and French incursions from the south and east in order to further their own goals. Both Putiatin and Ignatiev attempted to play the role of mediator between the Chinese and their European foes, and both were able to use Chinese fears of a dual front—conflict with the Russians in the north, as well as the conflict with the French and English—to their own advantage. The weakness and vacillation of the Emperor of China in the face of superior military power are made clear in this study, as is the role of Count N. N.

Muraviev, the governor general of East Siberia, in Russian expansion along the Amur and Ussuri Rivers.

University of Kansas

ROGER E. KANET

THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY: A CHINESE NATIONALIST TRACT OF 1903. By *Tsou Jung*. Introduction and translation with notes by *John Lust*. [Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Matériaux pour l'étude de l'Extrême-Orient moderne et contemporain. Textes, Number 6.] (Paris: Mouton & Co. 1968. Pp. 152, 84. 27 fr.)

ALL too often the drama and atmosphere of human events are lost to later generations solely because experience is filtered through the historian's conceptual and professional preoccupations. Even in a period when there is wide general and academic interest in China, full translations of original Chinese works and documents remain a rarity. The production of major translations, properly introduced and fully commented upon, is seldom considered sufficient basis, at least in American universities, for the granting of Ph.D. degrees or for academic promotions. Whatever the advantages such exclusions have for the profession, there can be no doubt that posterity is the loser. Thus I enthusiastically recommend to both China specialist and layman alike Mr. Lust's fine presentation of a significant, though far from major, historical document.

Tsou Jung, the author of *The Revolutionary Army*, died in a Chinese prison in 1905, at the age of twenty. He would, in many ways, have to be compared with the collegiate revolutionaries of today in his passionate desire to tear down the old society, unmask corruption and hypocrisy, and develop a new spirit within society. He reflects in his impassioned tract the fervor and ideals that characterized the various Chinese nationalist groups in the decade and a half preceding the 1911 revolution. One senses, too, the exciting and profound influence Dr. Sun Yat-sen must have exercised upon his inflamed mind. For Tsou Jung, the term "Revolutionary Army" meant, in effect, the entire awakened, revolutionary Chinese people, beleaguered and united, willing to give their lives today for a new China tomorrow. Here, then, we have a glimpse of the purposes and meanings inherited and transmitted by Tsou Jung's successors, including, most importantly, Mao Tse-tung.

Lust provides an exhaustively annotated introduction, translation, and bibliography, and, in addition, furnishes the original text. This work should be used in courses on modern Chinese history, and on revolution and change and, last but not least important, in advanced Chinese-language courses, despite the peculiarity of the semilitrary, semicolloquial style of the period.

Washington University

STANLEY SPECTOR

MODERN CHINA'S SEARCH FOR A POLITICAL FORM. Edited by *Jack Gray*. [Issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. xii, 379. \$10.50.)

A TOTAL of ten authors, including the editor, most of them British, are represented in this collection of papers on China prepared for a study group of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Although one can sympathize with the need for an attractive title for a symposium volume such as this, the sum of the essays is much less than the whole implied by the title. There is nothing remotely resembling an adequate sum-

mary of what would appear to be the two most important portions of the ground seemingly staked out by the title: the rise of the Chinese Communist movement and China's political system since 1949. The editor does make an effort, most unsatisfactorily, to supply the latter deficiency in his concluding chapter. For obvious chronological reasons, the Cultural Revolution is not dealt with at any length.

In his foreword, the editor describes the essays as, for the most part, historical rather than analytical. Even without pausing to inquire into the validity and significance of the distinction between these two approaches, the reader *moyen sensuel* is likely to find himself longing for more analysis and less "history" in the sense of unimportant chronological details, in which the essays abound. More emphasis on analysis might have led to a questioning of the assumption of the inevitability, and desirability, of the Communist victory that is implicit or explicit in most of the essays.

Jerome Ch'en's chapter on the historical background is confused and confusing, a good example of the great difficulty that most Chinese have in thinking logically about the problems of their country. Mark Elvin's essay on the Shanghai City Council in the early twentieth century, Martin Bernal's on early Chinese socialism, and Jean Chesneaux's on the federalist movement in the early 1920's are all highly competent case studies, but have little relevance to the mainstream of Chinese political history. Patrick Cavendish's study of the Kuomintang in power is less useful because it restricts its scope to the early years, but it is helpful for an understanding of that period. John Gittings' essay on the People's Liberation Army is competent but says nothing that has not been said better elsewhere (notably by Gittings himself). Sybille van der Sprenkel's study on Communist Chinese law appears to do justice to the subject, which, as in all Communist states, is marginal. James Macdonald adds nothing on the cadre system that has not been published on this subject in the United States. George Moseley's essay on the frontier regions is a useful and stimulating interpretation of their role in the complex interaction between China and the outside world, both before and since 1949.

There is a serious need for an adequate study of the phenomenon indicated by the title of this book. The need, unfortunately, remains unfilled.

George Washington University

HAROLD C. HINTON

THE *PANAY* INCIDENT: PRELUDE TO PEARL HARBOR. By *Hamilton Darby Perry*. Introduction by *Luigi Barzini*. ([New York:] Macmillan Company. 1969. Pp. xviii, 295. \$6.95.)

THE controversy surrounding the sinking of the American gunboat *Panay* in the Yangtze River by Japanese naval planes on December 12, 1937, especially continues unresolved. In this highly journalistic account, Mr. Perry focuses upon the background of the men involved and describes in considerable detail the actual assault and the ordeal that plagued the survivors following the sinking of the ill-fated vessel. The author concludes by attempting to unravel the mystery that precipitated the episode. Although his theories appear conceivable, he fails to prove most of his contentions and, in the end, leaves the reader slightly more confused. Nor is the author convincing in his assertion that Colonel Kingoro Hashimoto, the jingoistic artillery commander, was probably responsible in ordering the strike. Such an attack from a military point of view would have necessitated a prearranged maneuver to coordinate an air-ground assault. From the outset of war in China, the Japanese military services pursued an independent

course of action, thus negating the author's assumption that Hashimoto duped the navy into making the attack "for the good of Japan."

Perry's hypothesis that the attack originated from a dispatch submitted to higher headquarters seems more plausible. During the Japanese siege of Nanking, several advance units operated upriver from the Chinese capital. The ambiguous report from one of these units, which halted the *Panay* and its convoy for questioning on the morning of December 12, may well have provided the impetus and justification needed to launch the aerial strike some three and a half hours later. The author quite persuasively dispels the premise that the incident was marked by one of mistaken identity.

In summarizing the American attitude over the episode, Perry declares that the country "had little intention of backing down." This is not so. Essentially the event produced no nationwide outcry or widespread demands in Congress for retaliatory measures while newspaper reaction, for the most part, remained isolationist and insisted upon the withdrawal of American military units from China.

The deficiencies of this study are consistent with the author's omission of listed sources. His reliance upon eyewitness accounts of the episode makes for interesting reading, but leaves the authenticity of the work and its contribution to scholarship in doubt.

State University College, Buffalo, New York

MANNY T. KOGINOS

THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF MANCHURIA IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY. By *Kungtu C. Sun*, assisted by *Ralph W. Huenemann*. [Harvard East Asian Monographs, Number 28.] ([Cambridge, Mass.:] East Asian Research Center, Harvard University; distrib. by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. 1969. Pp. ix, 124. \$3.50.)

THE subject of this brief study is an exceedingly difficult one that has been too long neglected. There are, to be sure, voluminous statistics on the economic development of Manchuria in the first half of the twentieth century. Statistics are, however, apt to reflect the subjective thinking and purposes of those who compiled them. In the case of Manchuria the major statistical sources were created at one time or another by governmental or semigovernmental functionaries who were Chinese, Japanese, or Russian and who did not always have a common purpose or common interests in mind. Their use and their evaluation require rare powers of interpretation.

The present study was begun as an attempt to examine statistically agricultural development only, but it was gradually broadened in scope to include as much of the entire economic picture as possible. Mr. Sun's previous career admirably equipped him to deal with statistical sources. Unfortunately, serious illness kept him from completing his revision of the original manuscript, and the task was finished by Mr. Huenemann.

The study is developed in three parts. The first attempts to present in brief compass the historical setting of Manchu policy from 1644 to 1900. The second deals with agricultural development in the first half of the twentieth century. The third is concerned with industrial development during the same period. There are twenty-six useful statistical tables, two maps that are not as adequate as they might be, and a bibliography of Chinese, Japanese, and English titles in which the basis of selection, particularly of the English titles, is not always clear.

All in all, Sun's study is a welcome contribution in an area and on a subject where solid information has been all too fragmentary. His critical comments throughout the

text on the limitations of the available sources are excellent, and, as a consequence, he has made a worthwhile beginning toward an integrated economic history of Manchuria in that turbulent period, the first half of the twentieth century.

Durham, North Carolina

PAUL H. CLYDE

JAPAN'S FIRST GENERAL ELECTION, 1890. By R. H. P. Mason. [University of Cambridge Oriental Publications, Number 14.] (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1969. Pp. viii, 253. \$7.50.)

R. H. P. MASON, lecturer in Asian civilization at the Australian National University, Canberra, here strongly supports the view that Japan's Meiji oligarchs were enlightened gradualists on the road to constitutionalism.

This formerly "revisionist" view, which George Akita presented brilliantly in his *Foundations of Constitutional Government in Meiji Japan, 1868-1900* (1967), may now be said to have received the precise sort of single-instance verification that any advocate of a new approach would hope for and dream about. Further, Mason's research was entirely independent of Akita's for he did not even have Akita's book at the time this one was written.

It would now seem that the "pessimistic" interpretation introduced in W. W. McLaren's *Political History of Japan during the Meiji Era* (1916) and expanded in the works of Norman, Bisson, Scalapino, Beckmann, and Maki, an interpretation that lays serious blame on the oligarchs and their doings for the prewar "failure of democracy" in Japan, must be seriously questioned.

Utilizing a wide variety of Japanese sources, especially newspapers of the period, Mason closely scrutinizes this first great national election in Asia in successive chapters on organization and administration, parties, principles and issues, the campaign itself, and the composition of the first Diet. He finds it to have been an honorable election. There were a few bribes and some violence, mostly from antigovernment ranks, but by any reasonable measure, Eastern or Western, it was a real and fair election. Mason shows that the oligarchs not only let this happen but that they assisted it.

Actually, to call the Meiji leaders "oligarchs" is "dangerously misleading," says Mason, because the term has "patrician overtones." These men were "nobodies" whose position relied solely upon their public careers. Hence, he concludes, their purpose, at least in the election of 1890, was to seek a politics of consensus, in the good sense of that term.

Mason's study is compelling, and its findings fit not only the pattern developed by Akita but also that found in recent studies on Meiji political history by J. Pittau and E. Soviak. I would raise one or two words of caution before discarding the interpretation of the "pessimists," however. One is the simple reminder that the Japanese state did go "wrong" in the 1930's, by any humane measure, Eastern or Western. And the question remains: was the bad seed sown by the Meiji leadership? One answer might be that, even granting the decency of the election of 1890 and the good intent of the "oligarchs" at that time, only the Ito-led "civilian faction" persisted in the effort to preserve constitutionalism. Akita's work concentrates on Ito's group, while Roger Hackett's study on "The Meiji Leaders and Modernization" suggests that Yamagata's military faction was never reconciled to it. If Yamagata's men were the villains, it is strange they did not show their teeth in 1890. Perhaps the answer does not lie with any peculiarly Japanese faction or phenomenon, but, instead, with the intensification to absurdity of

Japan's quest for national security, a tendency that other nations, not excluding our own, have also displayed.

University of Pennsylvania

HILARY CONROY

REVOLUTIONARY DEMOCRACY: CHALLENGE AND TESTING IN JAPAN.

By *E. Wight Bakke*. [Project of the Inter-University Study of Labor Problems in Economic Development.] (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books. 1968. Pp. x, 343. \$10.00.)

THE author is Sterling Professor of Economics at Yale University. In a forty-year career of research and writing, he has obviously acquired the skills of observation and analysis required of a distinguished social scientist. He has focused these skills on the problem solving behavior of groups of people in conflict, cooperation, and power relationships in North and South America, Europe, and Asia.

In this book, Bakke concentrates on the "democratic revolution in a defeated Japan," specifically the fascinating experiment of the Allied, but largely American-directed, occupation between 1945 and 1952. A secondary objective is to comment on the significance for national development of student activism, a phenomenon that has been most prominent in the recent political developments of Japan.

The result is a splendid, succinct survey of the "predispositions and behavior" required of a "sovereign people." So well written is this exercise that it might well become required reading for all beginning students of American government, even students being introduced to social science. There are clear delineations of the classic problems of "Group Solidarity and Individual Freedom" (Chapter iv, which is the best chapter), "Governors and the Governed" (Chapter v), "The Rule of Law" (Chapter vi), "Group Consensus out of Partisan Interest" (Chapter vii), and so forth.

Bakke is familiar with Japan. He has obviously had available the advice and wisdom of experts—Bailey, Cary, and Yanaga, among Americans; Maeda, Matsumoto, Nagai, Okada, Takagi, Tsuru, and Royama, among Japanese. Nevertheless, the political philosophy ably expressed and the standards set are historically determined, culture-bound, and limited largely to the American experience. Although a valiant attempt, based on limited experience, is made to understand Japanese behavior, inevitably it is set down gently as "group-fused"; Japanese solidarity is "primeval"; decision making is "consensus." As a matter of fact, one might take quite literally the author's charge: "No non-Japanese observer should suggest from his limited observations of Japanese behavior that there are predispositions in Japanese character which amplify the difficulties of consensus achievement. . . ."

Bakke is mainly interested in "the individualistic search for economic freedom for everyone, introduced by the industrial revolution; and the individual political equality, freedom, and security before the law brought into the range of human vision by the political revolutions of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries." In another context, Robert Bellah of Harvard once put it even more bluntly: until Japan experiences the equivalent of "left-wing protestantism"—Max Weber's Protestant ethic refurbished—it cannot be called a "modern" society. Bakke and Bellah are welcome to these narrower definitions of "democracy" and "modernity."

On occasion, Bakke's observations, cited out of context, might puzzle a reader. For example: "Observation of debates in student meetings and group discussions in which I participated, however, did give the impression that this tendency [failure to compromise] could well be a factor in the difficulties besetting the consensus-building proc-

ess among students. The tendency was clearly present in debates held on procedure and programs in meetings of student associations. It also was obvious in meetings between students and faculty with respect to intra-university affairs, for example, in a dispute as to who was to administer and manage a student union building." Does the paragraph refer solely to the *Sampa Rengo* faction of *Zenkakuren* in Japan or also to the SDS in America?

Cultural perspective might illuminate the interesting facts that to the Japanese, "individualism" approaches a cardinal sin; the absolute "rule by law" (rather than by men) is a dubious ideal; that a mathematically derived majority, drawn from partisan interests in a direct "division," does not always guarantee a group consensus; nor can it necessarily be justified by "higher law." In short, we do not yet have a truly universal theory of "revolutionary democracy." The fascination of what the late Kazuo Kawai called "the American interlude" (the occupation of Japan) is that Americans, with a sense of mission, thought we did. Meanwhile, the Japanese are still *adapting*, as they always have, rather than *adopting* alien principles, such as those found in Western-style democracy.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

ARDATH W. BURKS

LAND CONTROL AND SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN INDIAN HISTORY. Edited by Robert Eric Frykenberg. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1969. Pp. xxi, 256. \$10.00.)

PRESENT-DAY historians of India have begun to react against a long tradition of viewing Indian history from the top downward: a chronicle of emperors and viceroys. The new trend is toward regional studies, with heavy emphasis upon investigations of society, particularly caste relations. Soon we may be looking in vain for Indian history as such, when everybody is taking Gujarat or Kulin Brahmins as their subject. The present symposium provides an excellent example of how microhistorians can still contribute to our understanding of India as a whole. Land and landholding provide the key to political and administrative history, social history, and economic history throughout the ages in India. There is a sizable literature, but, in many respects, the subject has taken its guidelines from the British nineteenth-century administrators who pioneered its study. How many of us must have been influenced by Sir William Sleeman's account of his conversation with an aged man who told him, "Once all the land as far as the eye can see was mine: now I am left only in possession of this cave."

Did the advent of British rule bring about a revolution in land tenure in India? This is the principal question, and this volume goes far toward supplying an answer. The general conclusion emerges in Thomas Metcalf's statement, which is specifically related to the talukdars of Oudh: "The most striking feature in the fate of this landlord community under the British was neither the decline, except in a few places, of the traditionally dominant groups, nor the rise of new men, but rather the persistence in positions of power of the old landed classes by a process of adaptation to the altered political and economic conditions." Writing about eastern Bengal, Dr. T. Rayachaudhuri reaches much the same conclusion: "The evidence of family tradition as well as the Government records suggests continuity rather than discontinuity so far as 'superior rights' in land is concerned."

Of course new men did join the landlords, reflecting the shift in strength from the old warrior to the new entrepreneur (whether of trade or administration). But, in general, as Robert Frykenberg demonstrates once again, local society showed its capacity to

adjust to a new external challenge. This adjustment was helped because the British were not trying to interpolate an entirely new system, but were only trying to introduce certain values into an indigenous system. This is well treated by Ainslie Embree in his chapter "Landholding in India and British Institutions."

The scope of the contributions covers three of India's major regions: the Gangetic heartland, Bengal, and southern India. From these comparisons emerges the conclusion that the subcontinent, which the British tried to rule, was still, in the early nineteenth century, a congeries of autonomous areas, loosely associated in culture but not in economic or political terms. Thus, while Bernard Cohn explains changes in the Benares area from 1800 to 1850 by reference to an agricultural boom with rising commodity prices and rising land values, Burton Stein insists that, during precisely the same half century in southern India, there were a decline in prices and "conditions of distress." As the authors themselves declare, much more research is needed before hypotheses can be firmly accepted. But, in stating the terms of their problems boldly and coherently, they have effected a major contribution in the most important field of Indian history.

In its literary genre, this volume belongs to what Peter Fleming has called the "Chapatti School" of writing. That is to say, almost every sentence is interlarded with Indian, Persian, and Arabic terms. It can reasonably be argued that one cannot discuss Indian landholding without referring to *jamabandi*, *taccavi*, and *waqfs*. But the effect is of withdrawal into the arcana of Orientalism, whereas this book deserves to take its place in the mainstream of historical studies.

Institute of Race Relations

HUGH TINKER

WESTERN INDIA IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY: A STUDY IN THE SOCIAL HISTORY OF MAHARASHTRA. By *Ravinder Kumar*. [Studies in Social History.] (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1968. Pp. 347. \$8.00.)

THIS is an ambitious study of "the transformation of Maharashtra in the 19th century as a result of the interaction between the institutions and the values which prevailed before 1818, and the policies implemented by the new rulers. . . ." Using mainly English records from the Bombay archives, the author focuses on the districts around Poona in order to show how the British tried to remold rural society and foster Western education. He concludes that British policy produced opportunities for the emergence of two elites: a rural peasant one based on newly acquired wealth and an urban Brahman one based on control of civil service and professional positions. Although these elites shared the same traditional values, conflict later arose when members of the peasant elite became Western educated and competed with the Brahman elite for political power.

The book deals mainly with the formulation and execution of British land revenue policy and its effect on different segments of the rural population. The author excels at describing the diversity of British approaches to the problem of increasing the land revenue. He shows how British policy oscillated between the conservative policies of Mountstuart Elphinstone and Henry Maine and the dynamic ones of the utilitarians and advocates of rural credit over the degree of state intervention and the disruption of the social order. Generally, however, British policy corroded the ties binding castes together, irrespective of the policy being administered. While cleavages among different segments of the rural population widened as a result of changing economic relations, the solidarity of the village communities was preserved since their value system remained largely unimpaired. This reliance on shared values for evidence of social

harmony appears idealistic in view of the author's analysis of growing conflict in rural areas.

- In the second part of the study Kumar analyzes the urban Brahman elite through a series of brilliant portraits of Brahman leaders and thinkers. The growth of a liberal faction among the Brahmans is traced through the development of their ideas on the role of government in legislating social change. The eventual triumph of the conservative faction of Brahmans represents the outcome of this clash of ideas. Kumar sees ideas and values as the primary impediments to extensive social change. Considering the work that social scientists have done to demonstrate the minor role of ideas in retarding economic development and social change, his thesis is not attractive. Since he does not describe the social organization or political institutions of the towns, his emphasis on ideas can, moreover, be only a partial conclusion.

The chief value of this book lies in its analysis of the consequences of policy, not just policy itself. The lengthy period studied allows the author to delineate the cumulative effects of social change, which has not been done in earlier works. The interplay between doctrine and practice in devising policy is superbly rendered. This work is a major achievement; its rich thought and lucid prose deserve wide recognition.

University of California, San Diego

JOHN G. LEONARD

INDIA AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS. By *D. N. Verma*. (Patna: Bharati Bhawan. 1968. Pp. xii, 350. Rs. 30.)

INDIA was an original member of the League of Nations, but its position in the League was an anomalous one. As L. Oppenheim observed in 1928, India "certainly possesses a position in international law," but "it is *sui generis*, and defies classification."

During the period of the League's existence, India was not an independent nation. Its representatives in the League were designated by the Secretary of State for India, in consultation with the British government in India. Until 1929 the head of every delegation of India to the League Assembly was an Englishman. One of India's delegates was always a ruling prince, who presumably represented all of India, but the princely states of India had a status different from that of British India, and the agreements and conventions of the League, to which the Indian delegates, including princely representatives, adhered, were not recognized as applying to the princely states. India contributed substantially to the League's budget, but it was never given a seat in the Council of the League, and very few Indians were appointed to the Secretariat. As F. P. Walters, the leading historian of the League, noted, "The voice of India came . . . not from the vast spaces of the sub-continent, but from a dusty corridor in Whitehall." It is little wonder that India's membership was not highly valued, or that the leaders of the Indian struggle for independence paid little attention to the League.

On the other hand, as Dr. Verma emphasizes, membership in the League gave India international status and an international forum; it provided "pre-independence schooling in diplomacy and international affairs"; it had some useful impact on the internal situation in India. The Indian delegates to the Assembly never differed publicly from the British representatives on any major political question, but, as Verma brings out in the most valuable chapters in his book, they frequently differed on economic, fiscal, social, humanitarian, labor, and minor political issues.

Verma seems to share a prevailing Indian attitude that India's membership in the League was "meaningless," "a farce," an echoing of "her master's voice," but he also

argues that it was "a pleasant adventure for her in the international world," which "resulted in 'boundless benefit' for our country." He often advances contradictory opinions. At times his strong anti-British bias shows through, as in his assertion that in the British period "India itself was a vast concentration camp of slaves." Some of his conclusions are highly questionable, as, for example, when he states that "Most of the wars of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries . . . were the corollary of Britain's Indian policy"; "India became one of the important topics of discussion in the conference rooms of Paris"; and "India's membership of the League . . . exercised a predominant, if not decisive, influence over the United States' rejection of the Peace Treaties as a whole." It is also startling to read that the noncooperation movement of 1930 represented "the first rumbling of [the] Indian independence movement."

In spite of its imperfections, the present study, which still bears the marks of a doctoral dissertation, is a useful contribution to a neglected aspect of modern Indian history.

University of Pennsylvania

NORMAN D. PALMER

THE CONGRESS PARTY OF INDIA: THE DYNAMICS OF ONE-PARTY DEMOCRACY. By *Stanley A. Kochanek*. (Princeton, N. J.: Princeton University Press. 1968. Pp. xxv, 516. \$13.50.)

THE title of this book flatters its contents. It is not a study of the Congress party as a whole but mainly of its national leadership processes. The subtitle is misleading, for the book analyzes the dynamics of the party rather than of the democracy.

Mr. Kochanek has investigated three aspects of the Congress party: relations between the Prime Minister of the federal government and the national president of the party; the evolution, operations, and personnel of the Working Committee—the party's national executive—as well as of its subcommittees; and, lastly, the social background both of the party's active members and of its more important personnel. The author has added a postscript analyzing the consequences of the general election of 1967 for the political situation in India and, particularly, for the Congress party.

The theme that runs through much of the book involves the conflict between the party's organizational wing and the government or ministerial wing. The rivalry between the two wings is a major source of the party's dynamics. Kochanek provides an exhaustive discussion of the conflict and compromise at the national level after 1945. He has effectively used the private papers of such party leaders as the late Dr. Rajendra Prasad.

Because the author confines himself largely to developments after 1945, his perspective on a party that was founded sixty years earlier is much foreshortened, a characteristic that occasionally distorts his analysis. Thus he states that "Almost as soon as the Congress had tasted power, factionalism arose; . . ." whereas factionalism was prevalent in the party long before it had tasted power. Similarly, the author writes: "Until independence the locus of power in the Indian National Congress clearly rested with the Congress President and the Working Committee." But a major locus of power in much of this period was Gandhi, who was not formally a member of the party. Kochanek himself acknowledges this a little later.

A major weakness of the book is the lack of a carefully considered perspective, such as the author might have gained by studying the longer history of the Congress party and a deeper probing of the dynamics of Indian politics. Thus the book gives the appearance of a grab bag of several monographic studies that do not go well together.

But such a result may be difficult to avoid given the present state of knowledge of the Congress party. In any case, Kochanek's work, with its storehouse of information, will prove a boon to students of party politics in India.

Friends World College, Westbury, New York

SURINDAR SURI

A TIBETAN PRINCIPALITY: THE POLITICAL SYSTEM OF Sa sKya. By C. W. Cassinelli and Robert B. Ekvall. (Ithaca, N. Y.: Cornell University Press. 1969. Pp. xx, 425. \$15.00.)

ALTHOUGH, or perhaps because, it is highly specialized, this book is valuable for the historian interested in various forms of feudalism. Of the authors, Ekvall is unrivaled in the art of interviewing the Tibetans, the Chinese, and the Hui-hui or Chinese-speaking (as distinguished from Turkish-speaking) Muslims. He has lived among both nomad and settled Tibetans, though not in the area treated in this book, and his full command of the language, together with his familiar and sympathetic understanding of their outlook on life, makes Tibetans accept him as one of their own. His collaborator, Cassinelli, who appears to be a competent but more routine sociologist, shares the weakness of his kind for an unnecessarily heavy-footed terminology. (Why "respondents" instead of "informants"?)

What is described here is a small principality, with a number of outlying areas owing allegiance to it. The authors are inclined to accept this "polity" as "traditional" (a term that has had considerable popularity recently, though often "stagnant" would apply as well or better), rather than "feudal." They are not, however, dogmatic about this distinction. "Feudal" is a term used hazily and conflictingly by non-Marxists and cumbrously by Marxists, who vary between insufficient differentiation in that everything preindustrial is pejoratively called "feudal" or excessive differentiation in such cases as "nomadic feudalism," "patriarchal feudalism," and so forth. I am myself decidedly inclined toward calling this principality "feudal" because I regard feudalism as an order requiring not only obedience from below but also acknowledgment, however marred by occasional rebellion or treachery, of a suzerain authority above.

The polity described here was originally the creation of a Tibetan notable under the patronage of the Mongols when they ruled in China, and made him their "chosen instrument" in Tibet. The principality was thus able to extend its authority widely over Tibet. With the decline of the Mongols, the principality began to wither. Later, in the 1500's, western and southern Mongols began to make the Dalai Lama their "chosen instrument," and, in the 1600's and more decisively in the 1700's, the Manchus, the new conquerors of China, confirmed the Dalai Lama as the symbol of Peking's ascendancy over Lhasa. Because of this change in the "feudal" center of gravity, the principality shrank in territorial authority and declined in political prestige, but survived at its diminished level. Is this what one means by "traditional"? I would submit that under the continuing influence of nineteenth-century evolutionary ideas, historians are still neglecting the significance of devolution, the movement back toward earlier social and institutional forms.

The two authors are honest about the fact that their informants belonged to the upper classes of the society investigated. On the other hand, as in a Victorian English household, the polity was so small that those belonging to "the masters" knew most of what was going on "below stairs," including whether the butler was making the tweeny maid sleep with him in order to keep her job. Much of the detail is precise and valuable. "In the two eastern areas of the Sa sKya domain, . . . the power to levy labour

was possessed in one area by the government at Lhasa and in the other by the Chinese government, a recognition that they were politically superior to Sa sKya." This would appear to me to be indisputably "feudal," not "traditional."

A word of complaint. If the Tibetanists want their material to be freely used in the world literature, why not abandon their pompous system of transliteration? We are told in the preface that "Tibetan words have been transliterated according to a system that uses Roman letters to indicate the letter under which they are listed in a Tibetan dictionary. . . . Thus the word brGyud is listed under the Tibetan equivalent of 'g' and is pronounced 'jed.'" We also learn, not systematically but along the way, that "KHri CHen" is pronounced "tree chen," that "sGrol Ma" is pronounced "droll mah," and that "NGag dBang mTHu THub dBang Phyug," one of the important characters in the book, is pronounced "nuk wahng too tohb wahng chu." Surely it would be simpler to write such names as they are pronounced and provide a glossary at the end of the book for those who need the pedantically exact transcription.

University of Leeds

OWEN LATTIMORE

Americas

HUMAN NATURE IN AMERICAN HISTORICAL THOUGHT. By *Merle Curti*. [The Paul Anthony Brick Lectures, Seventh Series.] (Columbia: University of Missouri Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 117. \$2.50.)

THIS little book, the text of a series of lectures given at the University of Missouri, attempts to deal with a difficult subject: how American historiography has been influenced by historians' views of man's "nature." Curti, faced with the dilemma of presenting complex issues to a nonprofessional audience, opted for breadth of coverage rather than depth of analysis. Thus, without clearly delineating the problem, he grouped historians (giving that term wide interpretation) into three categories. The first, typified by William Bradford and Reinhold Niebuhr, emphasized man's limitations. The second, symbolized by Thomas Jefferson, George Bancroft, and Charles A. Beard, believed rather in man's potentialities. The third, including Henry Adams and most practicing historians of our own day, have tried to explain human behavior in "scientific" terms. To cover so much ground in a little more than a hundred pages of text has entailed rather summary treatment of each historian discussed. Thus, the book as a whole has too little of the thoroughness of treatment and the intriguing insights we have come to expect from Curti. There are no index and no bibliography, although the full footnotes, gathered at the end of the book, compensate in part for lack of the latter.

Lewis and Clark College

ROBERT CRUDEN

HISTORY OF PUBLIC LAND LAW DEVELOPMENT. By *Paul W. Gates*, with a chapter by *Robert W. Swenson*. (Washington, D. C.: [Public Land Law Review Commission.] 1968. Pp. xv, 828. \$8.25.)

THE LAND OFFICE BUSINESS: THE SETTLEMENT AND ADMINISTRATION OF AMERICAN PUBLIC LANDS, 1789-1837. By *Malcolm J. Rohrbough*. (New York : Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 331. \$8.75.)

THE product of more than four decades of research in the history of US land policy, Gates's report for the Public Land Law Review Commission covers the field from the colonial period to the uranium period. The last survey of the subject, Roy Robbins'

Our Landed Heritage, was published in 1942. Gates not only summarizes the results of a generation's research, but offers multiple gleanings from his many unpublished investigations in such areas as federal-state competition for control of land and land revenue, congressional and executive attempts at reviewing land legislation, and the adventures of the Reclamation Service. An additional bonus is Robert Swenson's interesting if somewhat technical exposition of mineral land legislation.

Both authors argue too many theses to permit convenient summary. The underlying themes—continuity, complexity, incongruity—are, however, much like those adumbrated in Gates's 1936 article, "The Homestead Law in an Incongruous Land System." Thus, the United States did not abandon the search for revenue when the Homestead Act was passed; even after conservationists established the principle of reserving land for use under federal regulation, settlers continued to homestead, and the government went on collecting money. Throughout its history, the US has tried to achieve multiple purposes with its sales, grants, and leases of public land. The consequence has been the passage of several thousand laws, many of them hastily drawn and inconsistently administered. As a result, conflicts have erupted between persons claiming the same land under different laws, and critics have questioned whether the various aims of federal legislation, such as subsidizing settlers and subsidizing railroads, are congruous with one another. Despite the incongruities, Gates concludes that the system has achieved its most important purposes—encouraging settlement on family farms and development and conservation of resources—remarkably well.

As an economic historian, Gates is principally concerned with legislation affecting major economic groups. Despite the variety of laws he chooses to examine, the fortunes of farmer-settlers, land speculators, and engrossers, the administration of forests, grazing, minerals, and reclamation receive detailed treatment. On the other hand, such subjects as Indian lands, national parks, and wildlife preserves are relatively neglected. At times the author's analysis mirrors all too closely the complexity and incongruity of the system it describes. His discussion of the forfeiture of railroad grants does little to clarify a complicated sequence of events. The chapter on grants to states at the time of their admission never quite focuses either on the grants or on the process of admission. The text as a whole is generally well annotated and replete with useful quantitative data. Yet charts, graphs, and figures too often appear without citing the source, and more compulsive Cliometricians will probably spend another generation quarreling with the causal inferences the author draws from this spate of figures. Which is to say that, despite its too frequent concessions to the fallacy of simple representation, this volume will become a classic.

Gates's strategy in discussing legislation is to examine how the laws were framed, major problems in their administration, and their results, especially as these relate to the comparative fortunes of settlers and speculators. Administrative structures and the day-to-day administrative process are not a major focus of his work. Hence Malcolm Rohrbough's description of the first five decades of federal land administration constitutes an instructive supplement to this and other studies of land "policy." Based on careful examination of records in the National Archives and pertinent collections of personal papers, Rohrbough's text focuses on the development of administrative structure and policy at the national level and on the problematical progress of survey and sale at the local level. In good Turnerian fashion he settles, surveys, and sells land in successive geographic provinces, frequently referring back to what Washington attempted to do about it. His basic conclusions are similar to those of Gates: the bias against adequate support for public work and the political utility of patronage appoint-

ments conspired to create a system that functioned admirably to transfer public resources to private hands but showed itself inadequate to any more grandiose end. Rohrbough demonstrates this general proposition in a convincing and colorful manner.

Attempts to impose conventional periodization on his material are less successful. He argues that Jeffersonians were preoccupied with economizing; yet his entire narrative testifies to the penny-wise, pound-foolish character of financial support for public administration throughout his period. He presents Jacksonians as more politically oriented and more corrupt than their predecessors; yet his own chapter on private uses of the public land system indicates that the Jacksonians invented nothing new. He does show that they stole more than their predecessors, but, in view of the enormous expansion of the land business in the 1830's, his figures could equally well demonstrate that the Jacksonians got away with a smaller proportion of what there was to steal. Gates's narrative, among many others, proves the absurdity of Rohrbough's statement that "the great land office business came to a close" in 1837. Yet such lapses in interpretation are minor features of a book whose chief qualities testify to the author's extensive research, sophisticated judgment, firm control of his narrative, and delightful sensitivity to the comic and dramatic possibilities of his subject. Those of us who teach about the frontier may hope that a paperback edition of this monograph will appear very soon.

Ohio State University

MARY YOUNG

WITCHCRAFT AT SALEM. By *Chadwick Hansen*. (New York: George Braziller. 1969. Pp. xvii, 252. \$6.95.)

THIS newest work on one of the oldest of historical perennials is forceful, challenging, and thoroughly readable. This, perhaps, is recommendation enough, but, if books must persuade as well as provoke, the verdict on Chadwick Hansen's *Witchcraft at Salem* will necessarily be somewhat mixed.

The author, a professor of American studies and English at Pennsylvania State University, has worked hard to develop an original perspective on his subject, and certain of his conclusions are clear gain. First, he radically revises our traditional view of the roles played by various leading participants in the witchcraft proceedings. It will be much more difficult now to regard the Puritan clergy in general, and Cotton Mather in particular, as favoring widespread persecutions. In fact, they served as a restraining influence, particularly when they cautioned against the use of "spectral evidence." Hansen also demonstrates the extent of belief in witchcraft among the New England colonists by showing the many ways in which their whole culture was permeated with occult and magical ideas. Finally, he argues the power of such ideas among those who maintain them. A man who believes himself bewitched may actually sicken and die—the victim, in psychogenic terms, of his own fear. All of this is important, and, on the evidence Hansen offers, largely convincing.

The book falters badly, however, in a number of chapters designed to unravel the deeper causes of the outbreak at Salem. Hansen wants to establish, for example, that "witchcraft actually did exist and was widely practiced in seventeenth-century New England," and he concludes from the trial records that at least three of those executed in 1692 had "in all probability" been using "black magic." To make his point, however, he is obliged to credit a variety of evidence—confessions, statements from frightened witnesses—about which, in other contexts, he is properly skeptical. It is fair to assume that in most communities where belief in witchcraft has general currency some in-

dividuals do attempt to practice it. But to discover their identity and to separate them from others who, though widely suspected, are actually innocent is enormously difficult. The testimony that "proves" the guilt of Bridget Bishop or Mammy Redd, whom Hansen regards as true "practicing witches," seems little different from other testimony presented against Sarah Osbourne or Martha Corey, who are viewed here as tragic victims of the larger "hysteria."

The concept of hysteria is itself a major problem and puzzle for Hansen. Rightly critical of what he terms the "loose" and "popular" usage of this concept in earlier studies of witchcraft, he proposes to apply it only in its "scientific sense." It is strange, however, that his authorities on this important subject are right out of the late nineteenth century, the very infancy of academic psychology. Charcot, Janet, Breuer, and Freud did indeed write "classic studies of hysteria," but they are scarcely the last word today. It is even stranger that Hansen ignores a core element in these same "classic" theories when he denies repeatedly that sexual repression was in any way connected with the particular manifestations he has in view. He begins, then, by misrepresenting his central concept; he ends by overplaying it as well. "Hysteria" serves to explain the fits of the "afflicted girls," the fantasies of adult "victims," the confessions of the accused—in short, any behavior that does not seem either rational or fraudulent. It is just so that professedly analytic categories are made bankrupt and become, in academic terms, a particularly elastic form of "spectral evidence" against which Cotton Mather would surely have warned us.

Brandeis University

JOHN DEMOS

THE LAZY SOUTH. By David Bertelson. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1967. Pp. ix, 284. \$6.75.)

ALTHOUGH David Bertelson's book, *The Lazy South*, appears to be an extended argument for the moral superiority of New England vis-à-vis the South during the two and one-half centuries following the settlement of Jamestown, it is actually a brief on the inadequacy of a society based on contractual relationships and formal institutions. This is ironic because the South has traditionally served as the mythic counterweight to the general American drift away from the European model of social organization and toward crass materialism. Bertelson's theme, in a form that seems painfully oversimplified when compared to W. J. Cash's complex attempt to reconcile all the paradoxes arising from such an interpretation, is that the South is the logical extreme of Americanism, the end result of the tendency toward "the weakening of institutions and the ascendancy of the individual."

It is therefore not about the "lazy" South but about the disorganized South that the author writes. To be even more specific than Bertelson himself, *The Lazy South* is concerned with the sort of disorganization that exists when members of a community do not feel that their own personal fate is bound up with the fate of the group so that they are not willing to put community goals before personal goals. Considerable difficulty arises from the fact that, throughout the book, the word "lazy" sometimes means disorganization and sometimes idleness. This ambiguity, an example of the sleight of mind that abounds in the book, arises from the fact that work possessed a different meaning in the North than in the South. In the North, according to Bertelson and contrary to the Weberian understanding of the Protestant ethic, work was good to the extent that it was socially productive. Northerners brought with them from Europe a clear concept of community, but southerners came to America in search of profit, not

community. The result has been the persistent inability of southerners to sustain a sense of community. Southerners did, nevertheless, value work and fear idleness. Consequently, they developed a philosophy to justify leisure, but this failed because leisure is not socially meaningful. Nor did revivalism provide the sense of community that the South lacked, and violence, one of the most dramatic consequences of the lack of community, may have been the southerner's way of asserting that he was not idle. The reaction against the disorder of which violence was a symptom made the Revolutionary War in the South a movement for social control, rather than for freedom; the Civil War, on the other hand, was an outgrowth of the high priority southerners assigned to unrestrained individualism.

All of this is clever, well informed, well executed, and great fun, but its relationship to reality is problematical. Part of the problem is methodological. Inferences from scattered samples of rhetoric do not always induce in the reader a suspension of disbelief. It may be that the South was integrated around a different set of myths than was the North, but much more than textual analysis will be needed to establish the fact that the Old South was poorly integrated. Another part of the problem stems from theoretical confusions. Just because there was no genuine southern nationalism does not mean that southerners lived in disorganized communities; nor does it make sense to equate individualism with the lack of a sense of community.

It must be said, however, that Bertelson is dealing with a contradiction that is central to an understanding of southern culture. Unfortunately, he chose to develop only one side of the dichotomy.

Princeton University

SHELDON HACKNEY

THE GANSEVOORTS OF ALBANY: DUTCH PATRICIANS IN THE UPPER HUDSON VALLEY. By *Alice P. Kenney*. [New York State Study.] ([Syracuse, N. Y.:] Syracuse University Press. 1969. Pp. xxvi, 322. \$9.75.)

In the larger sense, this chronicle of six generations of the Gansevoort family of Albany deals with the nature of the Dutch ingredient in the American tradition, which, though "indistinguishable to the keenest analysis" by the twentieth century, according to the author, nevertheless constitutes "an indispensable element of the fabric as a whole." The isolated character of the Albany region, in Miss Kenney's opinion, made possible the exertion of Dutch influence there, especially that of the Dutch "patrician" society, to a much greater degree than was true of Dutch settlements on the lower Hudson and in New Jersey. In her view, the experience of the Dutch patricians of the upper Hudson Valley contributed significantly to the particularism, concern for privilege, and heterogeneity in the American tradition. It also demonstrates the close continuity between the patrician tradition of medieval Netherlands and institutions in the New World.

The family history with which Kenney attempts to illustrate this hypothesis exhibits the way genealogical data, when presented with insight and imagination, can illuminate larger developments in American history. Plebeian Harmen (c. 1635-1710), the first of the line, a brewer and frontier tavern keeper, flaunted the patricians of his day in espousing the Leislerian cause; yet his artisan son Leendert supported the royal authority as embodied in Governor William Cosby. The career of Leendert's son Harmen marked the progression of the Gansevoorts from artisans to merchants and symbolized the family's rise to "patrician" status as early as the third (second American-born) generation. Like his father, Harmen "cooperated" with the British administration,

but, when British traders as well as administrators threatened the Albanian way of life, the Gansevoorts joined most of the older patricians in embracing the patriot cause. Harme's son, General Peter Gansevoort, became the "Hero of Fort Stanwix."

The fourth and fifth generations saw the Gansevoorts reach the peak of their political and social status, buttressed by the acquisition of wealth, family cohesiveness, and civic service, which Kenney characterizes as "patrician" behavior. Though particularist in support of the Revolution, they were Federalist in the interest of ensuring the mercantile prosperity of the new nation. Fifth-generation Peter married outside the Dutch community, joined the Albany Regency, and supported his city's interests in the state Senate. Meanwhile, new population elements were submerging Albany's Dutch society, and the Gansevoorts lost the larger part of their fortunes through involvement in the speculative activities of the 1830's. Conflict between the Dutch and American traditions caused psychological problems for members of the sixth generation: the novelist Herman Melville and Henry S. Gansevoort, who turned his back upon the law for a permanent military career. Kate Gansevoort Lansing (1838-1918), the last of the Gansevoorts, spent her declining years attempting to preserve the memory of the family. It was from the voluminous body of papers she collected, which are now in the New York Public Library, that Kenney has constructed this broadly informative and well-written family biography.

New York University

BAYRD STILL

PRIMERAS EXPLORACIONES Y POBLAMIENTO DE TEXAS (1686-1694). By *Lino Gómez Canedo*. [Publicaciones del Instituto Tecnológico y de Estudios Superiores de Monterrey. Series: Historia, Number 6. Noticias geográficas e históricas del Noreste de México, Number 3.] (Monterrey: the Instituto. 1968. Pp. xxxviii, 348.)

TEXAS, through the first two centuries of European expansion in the New World, existed as a sort of no man's land between the major centers of European power. Although early crossed by individual explorers, Texas first comes into focus as the object of European national rivalry at the end of the seventeenth century. As the French, led by La Salle, penetrated into the coastal areas of Texas from their base in Canada, the Spaniards in Mexico felt cause for alarm. The souls of the Indians in Texas also became a matter of deep concern, and both soldier and priest joined hands to bring them into the fold of Hispanic rather than Gallic civilization.

Father Gómez Canedo has provided in convenient form the primary documentation to this Spanish reaction from the first reports of the French presence to the abandonment of Texas by the Spanish following the fruitless 1691 attempt of General Domingo Terán de los Ríos and Father Damián Mazanet to establish a string of missions there. The documents printed by Gómez Canedo are taken primarily from the *Archivo General de Indias* in Seville, and from the *Archivo General de la Nación* in Mexico. Some have been printed earlier, including English translations of Father Francisco Casañas' "Relación sobre los Indios del este de Texas" (1691) and of Terán's diary (1691-92), but most have not been printed in the original Spanish. Mazanet's diary of the abortive 1691 expedition is reprinted from the original document because the only other published edition is from a later and defective copy of the original. The editor's intention has been to publish a selection—not the complete corpus—of materials bearing on this little-known period of Texas history. Introductory notes to each document and an informative twenty-seven-page general introduction

support the text. Gómez Canedo has thus performed a notable service for the student of early Texas history, whether of its geography, ethnography, natural history, or political history.

Smithsonian Institution

WILCOMB E. WASHBURN

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN AND NATURE'S GOD. By *Alfred Owen Aldridge*. (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1967. Pp. 279. \$7.50.)

THE PAPERS OF BENJAMIN FRANKLIN. Volume XII, JANUARY 1 THROUGH DECEMBER 31, 1765. *Leonard W. Labaree*, Editor. *Helen C. Boatfield* and *James H. Hutson*, Assistant Editors. (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1968. Pp. xxv, 467. \$15.00.)

ALFRED OWEN ALDRIDGE, who has written several valuable books and articles on Benjamin Franklin's intellectual life, here presents a study of Franklin's religion based upon a broad selection of printed materials, the chief items among which are the Labaree edition of Franklin's *Papers* and the Smyth edition of the *Writings*, plus certain unpublished Franklin manuscripts in the Library of Congress and the American Philosophical Society.

"Franklin's religious life," he says, "is the record of an incessant attempt to reconcile and combine private notions with a series of orthodox systems of worship. He failed in this endeavor because his fundamental concepts frequently changed. If he cannot be compared to John of the Cross or to Calvin, it is not because he lacked an all-consuming devotion to a higher power but because he could never be certain about the nature of that power. When Franklin thought of God, as he often did, there was little of reverence; and when he felt compelled to a spirit of reverence, as he often was, there was little of God. Yet the persistence of his quest reveals that he was much more than 'a great pagan' who lapsed now and then into pseudo-religious platitudes."

This is the basic "problem" of the book. As it proceeds, it deals with the ways in which Franklin himself wrestled with the problem and with the experiences through which he passed as he did so. He emerges as a pragmatic deist and a "practical moralist." But nowhere does the account show that Franklin was a profoundly religious man if by this term is meant a man deeply moved by emotion or by a driving impulse toward adoration or mysticism.

The study is valuable chiefly for the way in which Aldridge presents Franklin's theology (such as it was), his pragmatism, and his personal religious experiences in context with his practical influence upon religious history in such matters as the appointment of a Roman Catholic bishop in the United States or upon the abolition of the Inquisition in Spain. Franklin does emerge as a significant exponent of the religion of the eighteenth-century Enlightenment, the only true philosophe, perhaps, to appear in Anglo-America.

Volume XII of *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin* covers the calendar year 1765, "the year of the Stamp Act." Franklin's involvement in this episode in the history of the American Revolution is the major theme of the documents presented here. He was one of the colonial agents in London who desperately attempted to forestall the passage of the act. Asked by Grenville for alternatives, the agents suggested self-taxation by the colonies. Franklin personally presented a plan to support the British Army in America by the creation of a continental land bank patterned after the land bank of Pennsylvania. Once the act was passed, Franklin resigned himself to the situation, counseled moderation in American reactions to it, and worked for its repeal. His mod-

eration brought him defamation as a traitor. He was amazed at the "Rashness" of the Virginia Resolves, but defended the Virginians and the Stamp Act Congress in the newspapers and in his private contacts in England.

Other themes were only slightly less significant. Franklin's comments on the Sugar Act and his exchanges with Thomas Wharton and Charles Thomson, among others, reveal the American concern over the growing rift between the continental colonies and the British West Indies on the one side and between the continental colonies and the mother country on the other over the suppressive effects of the British Navigation Acts and Acts of Trade upon the American economy, a theme that, in fact, casts much doubt upon a recent thesis that the Navigation Acts played no part in causing the American Revolution.

Another important theme involves the debate over the Quartering Act of May 3 and Franklin's successful efforts, in collaboration with Thomas Pownall, to ameliorate the most dangerous provisions of the original version.

Another theme of major significance is revealed in sober second thoughts about requesting the Crown to make Pennsylvania a royal province as revealed in the instructions from the Pennsylvania Committee of Correspondence to Jackson and Franklin on October 16, 1765. They express the concern of the Assembly over the preservation of "our Charter and Legal Rights" under the Crown and instruct the agents to suspend presentation of their petition should they perceive any danger of losing those "inestimable Privileges" by the proposed change.

Less significant themes appear in Franklin's journalistic and often humorous propaganda in defense of the colonies, the frontier violence in western Pennsylvania, and letters criticizing art and music (notably to Lord Kames). With regard to music, Franklin continued to ridicule the works of such "modern" composers as Handel, the pleasure in whose music we feel "is not the natural Pleasure arising from Melody or Harmony of Sounds, but of the same kind with the Pleasure we feel on seeing the surprising Feats of Tumblers and Rope Dancers, who execute difficult things."

Like its predecessors, this volume displays the superb scholarship and editorial methodology that have characterized the work of the editors from the beginning. The headnotes of the important documents are jewels of historiography, and problems of attribution are honestly faced. The essay on the versions of the Virginia Resolves is a model of historical criticism.

University of Illinois, Chicago

MAX SAVELLE

LORD STIRLING. By *Alan Valentine*. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1969. Pp. 299. \$6.50.)

WILLIAM Alexander, better known to his contemporaries as Lord Stirling, has long needed serious biographical treatment. Therefore we can appreciate Alan Valentine's sympathetic yet critical study of Washington's friend and comrade-in-arms who ranks in the second row of leaders of the American Revolution. A large landowner in New York and New Jersey, Stirling, like his father, was active in the business and political world of both colonies. Although the House of Lords refused to validate his claim to a lapsed Scottish earldom, Stirling lived in the style of a nobleman. One of his critics, Dr. Benjamin Rush, dubbed him "a proud, vain, lazy, ignorant drunkard." Valentine, however, argues persuasively that such a view is overly harsh. If Stirling enjoyed the good life, and if he managed his financial affairs poorly, he nevertheless was widely respected as a patriot, and he was a reasonably sound general. Between 1775 and

his death in early 1783, Stirling had, at one time or another, commanded every brigade in the Continental Army except those from South Carolina and Georgia. He fought heroically at Long Island and performed ably on other battlefields as well, especially at White Plains, Trenton, and Monmouth. That Stirling was considered fair-minded and judicious as a soldier may be seen in his assignments to preside over the courts-martial of several ranking American officers.

Although Valentine has helped to correct the record of Stirling, his biography can scarcely be termed definitive. It contains no footnotes, and the bibliography reveals numerous important omissions; apparently the manuscript papers of Stirling's military associates were not examined. Moreover, Valentine's treatment of colonial politics, the Zenger case, and the Conway Cabal does not reflect the latest scholarship, and one has the feeling that additional research might well have revealed more on the complicated story of Stirling's business transactions.

University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

DON HIGGINBOTHAM

THE LOYAL WHIG: WILLIAM SMITH OF NEW YORK & QUEBEC. By L. F. S. Upton. ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 250. \$8.50.)

ONE of the most complicated individual case histories in a complex period of revolution was that of William Smith of New York. An active colonial politician before 1763 and a member of the intellectual circle of William Livingston, which produced *The Independent Reflector*, Smith, during the Stamp Act crisis, was known as "Patriotic Billy." By 1774 his inability to support the maturing rebel cause and his unsuccessful attempts to effect reconciliation led him to retirement; after 1776 he went into virtual exile in up-State New York rather than take a stand. The rebel state government, mostly composed of his former political cronies and protégés, finally forced him to choose a side, and in 1778 he opted for Britain, becoming Chief Justice of British-held New York and later of Quebec. Despite this decision, his New York and Vermont lands were never confiscated by the rebels, a fact that contributed to frequently voiced suspicions in loyalist circles that he was untrustworthy.

In this brilliant full-scale biographical study, L. F. S. Upton of the University of British Columbia makes Smith's career both comprehensible and consistent, if not always commendable. Upton offers a complex interweaving of three factors to explain Smith's revolutionary uncertainties. In the first place, Smith genuinely believed in the unity of the Empire and in a Whig (not synonymous with rebel) view of politics and government. Secondly, he had such practical interests as landed property to consider. But ultimately, Upton makes clear, it was Smith's personal temperament that made him a fence-sitter. He was ambitious, but he was never a man of commitment and action. His successful public life was spent attached to such decisive figures as Governor Clinton or Guy Carleton, for whom he could serve as *éminence grise*. Smith simply could not stand personal involvement; he could make plans but he found the execution of them painful and difficult. A decision for or against rebellion was simply beyond him until the issue was forced. Then he discovered Carleton, who needed Smith as much as Smith needed him.

As a biographical study, *The Loyal Whig* is nicely conceived, soundly researched, and very well written. It makes a real contribution to our understanding of colonial and revolutionary New York as well as Quebec. It is a pity that such an exciting work was packaged in such a pedestrian way by its publishers.

Simon Fraser University

J. M. BUMSTED

RICHARD HENRY LEE: STATESMAN OF THE REVOLUTION. By *Oliver Perry Chitwood*. (Morgantown: West Virginia University Library. 1967. Pp. xiv, 310. \$7.00.)

THIS scholarly biography of one of Virginia's leading revolutionary statesmen supersedes the only other full-length study by a grandson of the same name published in 1825. Professor Chitwood brings to this subject a deep understanding of the revolutionary period both at the provincial and national level. The stage upon which Richard Henry Lee plays his role is fully treated, but the background at times tends to push aside the main actor. The problem of getting to know Lee as a person is more acute, but this can be attributed to the fact that the records concerning his personal and family life are limited. There were, for example, no letters available to or from either of his two wives and only limited correspondence between him and his two eldest sons.

Lee was a man of great ability and initiative. A member of the Virginia House of Burgesses from 1758 to 1775, he showed his concern for responsible government by pressing for the investigation of Speaker John Robinson. As an ardent patriot, he helped oppose the Stamp Act by writing remonstrances dispatched to England and later urged formation of the intercolonial Committees of Correspondence. As a member of the Continental Congress from 1774 to 1779, Lee moved the resolution for independence in 1776, which prompted Chitwood to suggest that, to the statement that "Virginia rang the alarm bell for the continent," Bancroft might well have added "that Richard Henry Lee and Patrick Henry pulled the rope." In the heated controversy that developed in the Continental Congress between Silas Deane and Arthur Lee over their mission abroad, Richard Henry Lee strongly defended his brother with the result that this conflict influenced his relationship with many of his contemporaries.

A signer of the Declaration of Independence and the Articles of Confederation, Lee returned to Congress in 1784 after being in the Virginia legislature for four years. He served as president of Congress for one year, but declined membership in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 and later opposed ratification of the Constitution, stating his reasons in *Letters from the Federal Farmer*. Elected as one of Virginia's first United States senators, Lee served without great distinction until his resignation for reasons of health in 1792.

The author concludes this study with a chapter on Lee's relationship with his colleagues and another one on his "Personal Traits and Home Life." Lee had firm friendships with Henry Laurens and with both John and Samuel Adams, but he was hostile to several contemporaries after the Deane-Arthur Lee conflict. Chitwood terms the personal relationship between Richard Henry Lee and Patrick Henry as "of a changing and elusive quality," and he argues for essentially good relations with Thomas Jefferson and for continued loyalty to George Washington, concluding that "the so-called Conway Cabal is in the main a classic myth."

This critical yet sympathetic study provides an important contribution to our understanding of Lee and the era of the American Revolution.

University of Kansas

W. STITT ROBINSON

THE LEE MAX FRIEDMAN COLLECTION OF AMERICAN JEWISH COLONIAL CORRESPONDENCE: LETTERS OF THE FRANKS FAMILY (1733-1748). Edited by *Leo Hershkowitz* and *Isidore S. Meyer*. [Studies in American Jewish History, Number 5.] (Waltham, Mass.: American Jewish Historical Society. 1968. Pp. xxxv, 171. \$10.00.)

THE thirty-seven carefully annotated letters transcribed in this volume were addressed in the period 1733-1748 to Naphtali Franks in London. Except for one letter from his father, New York merchant Jacob Franks, and two from a brother, these letters were written by Abigail Franks, Naphtali's mother. Thus, this publication affords the student of colonial America a unique opportunity to observe the private life and thoughts of an eighteenth-century Jewish mother.

Although the editors speak of Abigail's gift for turning an apt phrase, the value of her letters resides in content, not style. Read consecutively, these letters dull by repetition of commonplace thoughts and expressions, but this shortcoming is offset by what they reveal about the home life, family problems, literary tastes, and religious and social attitudes of a well-bred Jewish gentlewoman living in an obviously tolerant, yet, from her perspective, culturally threatening environment. Most fascinating is the revelation of the details of the marriage of Phila Franks to the very prominent Oliver Delancey. Abigail advocated liberal reform of Judaism, but when it came to the marriage of her daughter to a Gentile, no matter how high his station, she was inconsolable.

The editors are to be commended for their thoroughness in annotating these letters. They have also provided an excellent bibliography and a full index.

Manhattan College

ROBERT J. CHRISTEN

HARRISON GRAY OTIS, 1765-1848: THE URBANE FEDERALIST. By *Samuel Eliot Morison*. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1969. Pp. xxii, 561. \$12.50.)

FOR more than fifty years, students of early American national history have studied and borrowed from Samuel E. Morison's engaging biography of his urbane ancestor. Published in two volumes in 1913, *The Life and Letters of Harrison Gray Otis* was based on Morison's doctoral thesis at Harvard. This *succès d'estime*, as Morison terms it, has now "been almost completely rewritten, condensing or omitting much of the political material and all the bibliographical footnotes, adding a few important facts which have come to light since 1913, and increasing the space devoted to the social life of Boston, Philadelphia, and Washington." The felicitous result is a new book rather than a new edition.

In this case, the gifted biographer found the ideal subject. Otis' eloquent oratory is matched by Morison's superb command of language, the farmer's urbanity by his biographer's intellectual sophistication, the subject's charm by Morison's wit. More than this, the fact that Morison is a descendant of prominent New Englanders, Otis among them, contributed to a sympathetic view of those Federalists whose depiction by so many twentieth-century historians has been an exercise in demonology. Not that Morison takes an uncritical view; for, unlike such nineteenth-century predecessors as George Gibbs and John C. Hamilton who wrote polemical and filiopietistic biographies of their forebears, he clearly sees the shortcomings of the Federalists as well as their virtues. Of Timothy Pickering, George Cabot, and other members of the famous Essex Junto, for example, Morison writes, "They changed their sky, not their dispositions, by travel, returning to Boston as bigoted as when they departed." To ardent Republicans, on the other hand, he approvingly applies Edmund Burke's remark on colonial lawyers: "They

augur misgovernment at a distance, and snuff the approach of tyranny in every tainted breeze."

Congressman from Massachusetts during John Adams' administration, member of the Massachusetts legislature for some fifteen years, the most influential delegate at the Hartford Convention, US senator, successful lawyer, and real-estate promoter, Otis merits the close and careful study that Morison provides. But to many scholars the enduring merit of his book is not so much its portrayal of Otis as its acute analysis of the ideas that animated Federalism—whether of the Pickering brand or the more moderate Otis variety. Indeed, in rereading this biography one is struck by the extent to which so much recent historical writing on the subject is merely a lengthy elaboration of Morison's succinct and perceptive assessment. That some of his historical judgments have been challenged over the past half century is scarcely surprising. What is remarkable is that his biography of Otis remains today, as it did in 1913, the best single study of a minor Federalist leader.

Lafayette College

JACOB E. COOKE

THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION AND THE FRENCH ALLIANCE. By *William C. Stinchcombe*. ([Syracuse, N. Y.:] Syracuse University Press. 1969. Pp. viii, 246. \$7.95.)

THE purpose of this book "is to examine the implementation of the French alliance in the United States and the ways in which American leaders considered and coped with the alliance in formulating foreign and military policy." Stinchcombe is interested in the impact of Franco-American relations upon revolutionary politics, especially within the Continental Congress, and most especially through the influence of Chevalier de la Luzerne, second French minister to the United States. On the whole, the author accomplishes his purpose admirably. The book is carefully researched, cogently organized, and clearly written. Although it begins slowly, it gains momentum with the arrival of Luzerne in 1779, and becomes quite engaging in Chapters VII ("The Pulpit and the Alliance"), VIII ("The Press and the Alliance"), and IX ("French Propaganda in the United States"). The book is as much concerned with public opinion and personal attitudes as with the give and take of diplomatic politics. Stinchcombe clearly demonstrates how psychologically ephemeral the alliance was and how much Protestant American patriots had to rationalize in order to swallow an alliance with "Papists." He is also sensitive to shifts in sentiment and alignment. Many members of the Continental Congress, for example, depended more heavily upon French help in 1781 than had been the case in 1779. Hence it was relatively easy for Luzerne to obtain alterations in the peace instructions sent to the American commissioners in 1781.

The defensive alliance terminated when news arrived in March 1783 that hostilities between France and Great Britain had ended. What difference had the alliance made? It had provided funds, men, and arms of strategic importance, notably at Yorktown, without which independence must have remained chimerical. It almost certainly secured the western lands and the North Atlantic fishery for the new nation. In international affairs, it taught the Americans much about Machiavellian politics. After the war, as Stinchcombe observes, "Americans could make choices in foreign policy with more confidence in their ability and yet with an increased understanding of the limitations of American strength." At the personal level, the alliance caused many Americans to abandon or modify their parochial prejudices against France.

The one dimension of his subject that Stinchcombe neglects is the influence of French thought upon the workings of the alliance. Students will therefore wish to read his book in tandem with the well-known works of D. Echeverria and H. M. Jones, as well as the unfortunately neglected little book by W. Stark, *America: Ideal and Reality. The United States of 1776 in Contemporary European [French] Philosophy* (1947).

Cornell University

MICHAEL KAMMEN

THE SWORD OF THE REPUBLIC: THE UNITED STATES ARMY ON THE FRONTIER, 1783-1846. By *Francis Paul Prucha*. [The Wars of the United States.] ([New York:] Macmillan Company. 1969. Pp. xvii, 442. \$12.50.)

FATHER Prucha has, in the past, contributed significantly to our knowledge of Indian warfare and the role of military posts in the nineteenth century. In this work he traces in roughly chronological order the history of the army on the frontier from the close of the Revolution until the Mexican War. Considerable space is devoted to operations against the Indians in the Old Northwest during the 1790's, western aspects of the War of 1812, the Black Hawk War, and the wars against the Seminole Indians in Florida. Besides battle history, Prucha also investigates such diverse activities as fulfilling the provisions of treaties, removing squatters from the public domain, exploring expeditions, the building of military roads, protection of trade in furs and other commodities, construction and maintenance of forts, and Indian removal. Military policy, doctrines, and traditions, as well as battles in settled areas, are touched upon, but the main discussion of these matters is left for other volumes in the Macmillan series. In presenting us with a narrative of disparate events, Prucha has performed a real service, and his footnotes, fortunately at the bottom of each page, provide us with a reliable guide to a vast array of printed sources and secondary works.

What is lacking in an otherwise admirable book are unifying themes or meaningful generalizations. The scenes shift rapidly from one area or one activity to another, and there is little effort, either by comparison or analysis, to find common patterns. In his preface Prucha mentions two general themes running throughout the period, but the book itself hardly demonstrates them. First, he says that army men were above all "agents of empire, who made possible the development of the American republic throughout the lands it now enjoys." This would seem to be a rather extraordinary accomplishment, particularly in view of the second theme, in which the author states that an antimilitary tradition produced a situation wherein "The United States almost failed to provide a usable military arm." If there is a measure of truth in both of these seemingly contradictory statements, the explanation may lie in an interpretation suggested more than a decade ago by Professor C. Van Woodward: the free security of the United States in the nineteenth century. East of the Mississippi the Indians were never a major military threat, and it was the absence of any real challenge from either within or without, plus the relatively simple needs of the day, that made it possible for the army men, like other westerners, to play versatile roles as policemen, farmers, road builders, and scientists.

Ohio State University

HARRY L. COLES

THE FIRST AND SECOND UNITED STATES EMPIRES: GOVERNORS AND TERRITORIAL GOVERNMENT, 1784-1912. By *Jack Ericson Eblen*. ([Pittsburgh:] University of Pittsburgh Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 344. \$8.95.)

THE comprehensive viewpoint advanced by this book is that the territorial system of the United States was a deliberate imitation of the British colonial system; the territorial system is properly to be regarded as an empire over which the federal government held sway. The division between the first empire and the second occurred in 1848, when the first territorial stage of government was eliminated. The empire was constantly diminished by the transformation of territories into states. I consider the term "empire" to be a misnomer, except as it might be applied to the control of Indian tribes, because of the provision, from the outset, for the attainment of statehood on a basis of political equality with the original states. The division into first and second empires also seems artificial on any other basis than the one chosen for making the distinction.

The author also concludes that "oligarchic control and local autonomy" rather than democracy prevailed in the territories and that only "the rituals of democracy" were performed. To me, this conclusion seems to represent the theoretical judgment of a present-day school of thought. Territorial citizens, engaged in achieving local autonomy in the nineteenth century, would have been surprised to hear this interpretation and would not have accepted it.

Having expressed these general, dissenting opinions, I would like to point out some of the many important conclusions that the author has established by means of his very thorough research in a subject of forbidding dimensions. Territorial governors are portrayed as ambitious and capable politicians, on the whole, who often achieved later success in business as well as politics. They were usually more just in their policy toward Indians than was the white population of the territory. Though possessing by law rather autocratic powers, they were seldom given adequate backing by the federal government. Their pay was also inadequate.

The career of Arthur St. Clair, first territorial governor of the Northwest Territory, is examined in great detail. Subsequent governors were bound by precedents set during his administration, and the pattern of administrative problems in later territories conformed to a great extent with the pattern set by events and solutions under St. Clair. While some governors were able to influence legislation, legislative action and popular opinion were frequently at odds with the will of the governor and the judiciary. Both governors and legislatures were considerably influenced by leading territorial business interests. The tax basis was usually inadequate in the territories. Territorial government was not very different from state government except for the peculiar role of the governor in the territories.

The book constitutes an important analytical study. Generalizations abound, but they are based on detailed factual examination and will be useful to other historians. I am not convinced, however, that the detailed evidence presented in the book, with which I have no quarrel, points in the over-all direction of a colonial empire. In order to produce this effect, the author has minimized the importance of the deliberate provision of statehood and of the guarantees of individual rights provided by the Ordinance of 1787, both of which were consistently implemented and are thus essential to a consideration of the subject.

Colorado College

HARVEY L. CARTER

DANIEL D. TOMPKINS: GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK AND VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES. By *Ray W. Irwin*. ([New York:] New-York Historical Society. 1968. Pp. ix, 334. \$7.00.)

DANIEL D. Tompkins was governor of New York from 1807 to 1817 and Vice-President of the United States for two terms under James Monroe from 1817 to 1825. He was widely popular first as "The Farmer's Boy" and then as a patriotic prowar Republican. In 1940 Dr. Irwin was a coeditor of the essays Tompkins wrote as a Columbia College student in the 1790's, essays that exhibit an enlightened humanitarianism. With this full-scale biography, Irwin, a professor emeritus at New York University, completes his work on "an obscure American who deserves to be rescued from obscurity."

Irwin believes that Tompkins was "an ardent, forward-looking Jeffersonian Republican" whose "liberalism was matched by his intense nationalism." His proof for the first part of this statement depends on Tompkins' advocacy of social reforms as governor and political reform in the constitutional convention of 1821. Proof for the latter part of the statement rests with Tompkins' stand on the embargo, his outstanding services as governor in the War of 1812, and his political role as "successor to Burr and George Clinton as the New Yorkers closest to the Virginia-led national government." As Vice-President, Irwin concedes, Tompkins was a "tragic figure," usually absent as presiding officer of the Senate and often drunk when present, preoccupied with vindicating his chaotic financial record as governor or with his disastrous personal business ventures. I find this over-all thesis convincing, even if Tompkins' achievements as reformer are overstated and his relations with the Virginians are left somewhat shadowy.

This work contains no new discoveries. Most of Tompkins' public and private papers were destroyed in the fire at the New York State Library in 1911. Of necessity, therefore, the biography deals primarily with the public record. The fullest and most sure-footed chapters are on the war. The sketchiest and least satisfying ones are on politics, and this is not necessarily because they are treated in the framework established for New York by Dixon Ryan Fox whose personal assistance, amazingly, Irwin can acknowledge.

This is a solid, no-nonsense sort of biography. Scholars tempted to dismiss it as old-fashioned will find in it useful data for typing early politicians and reinterpreting the "first party system." They would also do well to see if other northern leaders fit the neglected pattern of Jeffersonianism—"liberalism" and "intense nationalism"—that Irwin highlights.

Northern Illinois University

ALFRED F. YOUNG

THE BROWNS OF PROVIDENCE PLANTATIONS: THE NINETEENTH CENTURY. By *James B. Hedges*. (Providence, R. I.: Brown University Press. 1968. Pp. xv, 325. \$10.00.)

How family elites maintain their positions over long periods of time is a persistent question in the history of any society. James B. Hedges had earlier recorded the establishment of the Brown family fortune through maritime enterprise. In a second volume he elected to analyze the numerous moves made by members of the Brown family to enhance their wealth and maintain their position both in Rhode Island and in the economy of the United States through the nineteenth century. Although he did not live to finish the projected task, he did complete the major part of it. That the manuscript reached publication in its present most satisfactory form is attributable to his

widow, his son, and two devoted scholars, Franklin S. Coyle and Edmund S. Morgan. It is a pleasure to add my tribute to a task well done; Jim Hedges' enthusiasm in 1928 induced me to adopt American history as my area of endeavor.

The author finished good drafts of about three-fourths of the study as visualized. He had planned fourteen chapters: seven on various maritime ventures, two on cotton textile manufacturing, one on "private enterprise in the public interest," two on land speculation, one on Civil War commodity speculation, and one on the United Fund, a family-pooled securities portfolio. Of the fourteen, ten were completed, two were unfinished (on the latter-day role of the Browns in Rhode Island textiles and in land speculation), and two were not begun (on the Civil War and the United Fund).

With all of its limitations, the book stands as a significant contribution to the economic and business history of the United States. The search for profitable trades and commodities in maritime operations dramatically illustrates the difficulties of applying capital and *expertise* to maritime operations between 1790 and 1840. Preliminary abortive ventures in gin and rum manufacture paralleled the successful matching of Brown capital and marketing techniques with the technological skill of Samuel Slater in early cotton textile endeavors, a fusion that led to family commitments that continued into the twentieth century. Similar shifts of Brown capital into banking, insurance, and transportation enterprises yielded no great earnings, but varying success in land speculation netted high returns on the whole. The process of allocating accumulated capital became complicated as the family effected a shift, induced by expectation of higher earnings, from maritime activity into manufacturing, service-oriented enterprises, land and commodity speculation, and a diversified portfolio of securities comparable to a modern mutual fund. That change in investment decisions paralleled and contributed to the growth of the economy and enabled the Brown family to play a continuously important role in the history of the country.

Harvard University

RALPH W. Hidy

PUBLIC OPINION, THE PRESIDENT, AND FOREIGN POLICY: FOUR CASE STUDIES FROM THE FORMATIVE YEARS. By *Doris A. Graber*. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston. 1968. Pp. viii, 374. Cloth \$6.95, paper \$4.95.)

Using four major episodes from the early national period as case studies, the author of this book, a political scientist, seeks to provide a further understanding of how Presidents conduct foreign policy and of the relationship between public opinion and foreign policy. She attempts, in these cases, to reconstruct and analyze the decision making of the President and his close advisers. The episodes she has chosen to illustrate what she calls "modern decision-making theories" and to represent noteworthy examples of presidential initiative in foreign policy are: John Adams' decision to negotiate rather than fight with France in 1800; Thomas Jefferson's decision to buy Louisiana in 1803, regardless of his constitutional scruples on the limitations of presidential power; James Madison's "policy of leading the country into war in 1812 at the risk of breaking up the Union"; and James Monroe's decision to espouse the doctrine that bears his name.

In each instance the author concentrates on the President and on his definition of and his view of public opinion. Instead of giving a reasonably full and balanced account of each case, she limits herself, or tries to do so, to what the President knew when he made a decision. This study consciously excludes data on the shaping of public opinion and on its influence in any broad sense on the making of policy.

The deliberately limited focus of the theme emerges in the form of a question stated in the opening pages: "What did important decision makers think about the role of public opinion in foreign policy formulation, and what conscious use did they make of this opinion as they heard and interpreted it?" The theme is based on the assumption that the President alone decides what public opinion to accept or reject. Since his decision, in the final analysis, is what counts, what the press and others report as mass opinion is of little value in the making of decisions in foreign policy.

She points out that, while Adams, Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe maintained that the voice of the people must rule, they were merely following the fashions of the time. They valued public opinion as only one of many factors in arriving at decisions. In foreign policy they, with the help of a few close advisers, made all of the key decisions. The same thing happens today; the process, according to the author, has not basically changed since the eighteenth century. It has to be this way, she concludes, because Americans expect the President to exert initiative in shaping foreign policy and to lead public opinion to support his policies. In this way public policy reflects public opinion, and the President acts as the final judge on policy and on what public opinion, among many conflicting ones, he will use.

This effort to control, to bring order to historical data, and to derive usable principles from it, mainly through techniques and writings in the various social sciences, is, in my judgment, commendable. But in this instance the results are disappointing. There is nothing new, either in data or in interpretation, for the historian in this book. It is well for a social scientist to confine his or her theorizing to limited historical data, but whatever data and interpretations he uses should be based on sound scholarship. Here it frequently is not. The generalizations often seem simple and obvious, regardless of the talk about complicated theory. The writing, too, is flawed, marked by the generous use of such clichés as "vineyards of diplomacy," and jargon. For the historian, the leading monographs on each subject offer more in graceful writing, analysis, and perceptive generalization. For others there may be some profit in reading a work based on good intentions to see how at least one social scientist uses historical data and scholarship to study one aspect of the making of foreign policy.

University of California, Santa Barbara

ALEXANDER DeCONDE

THE WAR OF 1812. By *Reginald Horsman*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1969. Pp. 286. \$6.95.)

As event and as history the War of 1812 has enjoyed its share of anomalies. One is that, while the causes of the war have stirred rich, historiographical controversy, the course and consequences of the conflict have been analyzed with striking consensus for the last sixty years. Reginald Horsman's general, narrative history, while sound and skilled, adds little to the accounts of the war written by Adams, Mahan, Fortescue, and Lucas two generations ago and later redone by Hitsman, Stacey, Tucker, Burt, Brant, Perkins, and Coles. Free of oddities and well written, *The War of 1812* is equally free of surprises for anyone familiar with the existing literature.

The most useful feature of the book is Horsman's reconstruction of British strategy and problems of command. Based on personal research in the Public Record Office and amply documented, this portion of the book emphasizes the defensive-retaliatory nature of British strategy and the modest commitment of forces until Napoleon's defeat in 1814. At the height of their optimism the British leaders did consider "containing" the United States with an Indian buffer state, but the specific military activities

of 1814—the maritime blockade, the creation of the Maine and Gulf Coast enclaves, and the struggle for the Great Lakes—were aimed at creating a strong negotiating position and ensuring Canada's postwar security.

Although Horsman expertly handles the Anglo-Canadian side of the war, his account of the American experience is prosaic. The eccentricities of the "management" of the war by the Madison administration are well known. One feels that the Jeffersonians richly deserved to be run out of Washington, if not by the British, then by New Englanders or westerners. But the ineptness of the Jeffersonians stemmed from the very American condition that they cherished: the diffusion of political power through an administratively invertibrate society. While time and space in the frontier wilderness certainly stymied American offensive operations, as Horsman points out, one cannot ignore the "underdevelopment" of American national loyalty.

In summing up the impact of the war, Horsman varies little from recent interpretations. But perhaps the return to the maritime-national honor interpretation of the war's beginnings has exercised an unnecessary tyranny over the assessment of its influence in North America. Horsman, for example, viewing the war as an unfortunate by-product of the European conflict and writing in a national framework, emphasizes the *status quo ante bellum* character of the Peace of Ghent. The longer-range effects are described in terms of quickened Canadian and American nationalism, Anglo-American *détente*, and modest administrative reforms.

Horsman suggests, here and in his other books, another outcome: that the war also ended European-supported Indian warfare in North America. As he says, "the major warfare in the lower Mississippi Valley throughout most of 1813 and 1814 was only indirectly connected to the main Anglo-American struggle." While Indian participation along the Great Lakes was part of the immediate defense of Canada, it was still an extension of the Indian fight against the settlement of the Northwest Territory. Since the 1770's this resistance had been sporadically encouraged by the British. In a modest way British strategic hopes for their Indian allies in 1812 resembled the policy of the Revolution and had similar results. The Battles of the Thames and Horseshoe Bend, however, ended such war by proxy. Despite the fact that "the United States achieved none of her war aims in the peace treaty," Horsman notes, "nothing was lost." But though the war aims of the central government may have been frustrated, "settlers poured west. . . ." Beyond the Appalachians, the War of 1812 created real winners and losers.

Ohio State University

ALLAN R. MILLETT

Erratum: The first sentence of Professor Wilson Smith's review of three university histories in the October issue of the *AHR* (p. 208) referred to "A methodological and perspective style. . . ." The sentence should have read: "A methodical and perceptive style has emerged in writing the histories of American universities." The staff of the *AHR* regret the mystification that these errors caused to readers, authors, and reviewer. Thus jargon doth make dullards of us all.

DWIGHT L. MOODY: *AMERICAN EVANGELIST, 1837-1899*. By James F. Findlay, Jr. With a foreword by Martin E. Marty. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 440. \$10.00.)

THIS is the most thorough biographical and theological study of Dwight Moody to appear in this century; it supersedes all other biographies and should make another

such full-length study unnecessary. Dr. Findlay has done an immense amount of research, and he has organized it well. It is not the author's fault that what private material still exists reveals little concerning the revivalist's inner life; rather, this is a characteristic of the world in which Moody lived. Findlay supplies a complete biography, together with chapters on Moody's methods and theological opinions; he is also well read on what Moody's contemporaries thought of him. He makes a courageous attempt to decide what effect Moody had on the religious life of America, and he is compelled to admit that the evidence suggests that he had little positive, lasting effect as a revivalist. Most modern books on Moody have been much too uncritical. Findlay falls somewhere between this position and the unsympathetic, but well-argued, case made by William G. McLoughlin in *Modern Revivalism* (1959). There is some danger of Moody being promoted into a folk hero through the sheer accumulation of publications about him; the reader should be cautious in accepting the view that Moody must somehow have been important whatever the weight of the evidence.

A biographical study of Moody is unrewarding, for he was a dull man and lived a dull life. His stature depends upon his success as a revivalist, his success in shaping a tradition that has outlasted him and produced the more blatantly advertised, but in fact less remarkable, career of Billy Graham. What needs analysis, therefore, is not Moody's rise from obscurity to dominion in the international, interdenominational, evangelical subworld, but his sermons, his revivalistic methods, and the significance of the songs and music of his formidable associate, Ira D. Sankey.

Here Findlay has not produced the definitive analysis, for his account of Sankey is conventional. Perhaps, however, there is little new to be said about the methods that the two men introduced. The author is least satisfactory on the subject of Moody's preaching and theology. He accepts at face value Moody's assertion that he emphasized the love and not the wrath of God, and he does not examine Moody's sermons in great detail. His account of Moody's premillennialism is new, and so is his description of the way in which Moody fused evangelism and political conservatism in the creation of his Bible Institute in 1886. But the addresses need a kind of literary analysis that is missing here and that can be used to show the ambiguous nature of Moody's rhetorical success. Nor does Findlay develop the fact that Moody's visit to England requires a theological analysis of the difference between Protestant and Catholic methods of revivalism. It is a pity that this shortcoming should limit the value of what is otherwise a useful and stimulating book.

University of Bristol

JOHN KENT

THE RADICAL REPUBLICANS: LINCOLN'S VANGUARD FOR RACIAL JUSTICE. By *Hans L. Trefousse*. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1969. Pp. xiv, 492, xviii. \$10.00.)

YANKEE STEPFATHER: GENERAL O. O. HOWARD AND THE FREEDMEN. By *William S. McFeely*. [Yale Publications in American Studies, Number 15.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1968. Pp. 351. \$10.00.)

THESE two books reflect interestingly different approaches to important related matters in nineteenth-century American history. Hans L. Trefousse hails and celebrates the essential morality and humanitarianism of his subjects in *The Radical Republicans*. William S. McFeely, on the other hand, focuses sharply on one small but significant part of the Radicals' postwar edifice and concludes that the Freedmen's Bureau failed to serve the deepest interests of the freedmen and that a critical examination of General

Oliver O. Howard and his work in the bureau leads not so much to celebration as to "a troubling assessment of America during Reconstruction."

Secure in the conviction that the Radical (Trefousse prefers the small "r") Republicans are "the heroes of today" rather than the villains of yesteryear's outmoded revisionism, he intends his volume as the first comprehensive study of the group he characterizes as "great innovators" who were "friends of the Negro, protagonists of democracy, [and] agents of reform not necessarily subservient to special interests." The result is a readable and well-documented account that covers the period from the late 1840's to the end of Reconstruction, but there is little or nothing here that will be new for scholars of the period.

Biographical sketches of the leading Radicals are followed by a discussion of their prewar differentiation from abolitionists. Emphasizing that the only bond that held the politically oriented Radicals together was a "common attitude toward problems connected with slavery," Trefousse nevertheless concedes that the most obvious example of their lack of agreement was in the diversity of their approaches to the race, as distinct from the slavery, question. Despite various manifestations of anti-Negro sentiment even among this vanguard, he concludes that it "speaks well for the radicals that some of them," such as Charles Sumner, did believe in racial equality at a time when such a creed was "comparatively rare." Just why this "amorphous group," who were frequently but not uniformly of New England ancestry, became such determined opponents of slavery is a question that is not really plumbed, aside from general references to their idealism and humanitarianism.

In the secession crisis as earlier, the Radicals entertained no doubts about the wisdom of their course in opposing any and all talk of compromise. Trefousse, sharing their certainty, concludes the prewar portion of his book with the avowal that the Radicals "were not the real aggressors; all they did was react to Southern attacks. . . . And in taking their stand, they were at one with virtually the entire civilized world, which considered slavery a barbarous anachronism." Despite their sometimes unwise talk and underestimation of the dangers and horrors of war, "they nevertheless performed a great service for their country. Their backbone enabled Lincoln to stand firm. . . ."

The Radicals' relationship with Lincoln forms the main theme of the wartime portion of the narrative. Trefousse portrays the President as sharing the essential goals of the "advanced members of his party" but possessing shrewder political instincts than they. Even concerning Reconstruction, Trefousse argues that Lincoln at the time of his death was abandoning his long-held views and approaching the Radicals' position. That position, according to Trefousse, derived from their sincere commitment to human rights: "What they were seeking was neither vengeance nor crass political gain; they wanted security for their experiment in modern democracy."

The matter of land for the freedmen is only skimpily treated by Trefousse. Despite the fact that the Radicals ultimately managed to enact the program they wanted for the South, he omits any explanation of the disinterest of most of them in the various proposals that would have given the freedmen what they most wanted—land of their own. McFeely, however, probes deeply and enlighteningly into the land question in *Yankee Stepfather: General O. O. Howard and the Freedmen*.

Neither administrative history nor a comprehensive monograph on the work of the Freedmen's Bureau, McFeely's volume is an inquiry into the purposes of the agency and its performance in attempting to fulfill them. The focus is kept on Howard and his leadership because the author regards him as "the key to understanding" the

bureau and its work. "The conclusion reached," McFeely writes in his introduction, "was that much of the work of General Howard in the Freedmen's Bureau served to preclude rather than promote Negro freedom." The reasons for this judgment are complex, one of them being that the bureau was linked from its birth with the army: it was headed by a general in the regular army whose assistant commissioners were also army officers. "Congress had called for the nation's most advanced experiment in social welfare," McFeely notes, "but had grafted it onto the most conservative of American institutions."

Howard himself, then and since regarded as the best man for the job, is portrayed, both sympathetically and critically, as a pious, humane, and well-meaning man who was at the same time naïve, politically tone deaf, and timid in his obedience to the orders and policies of President Andrew Johnson. Clearly one of the purposes of the Freedmen's Bureau was to contain the Negroes in the South, preferably on their own small plots of land according to Thaddeus Stevens and a few others, but merely as Republican voters and free laborers under contract according to the vast majority of those who cared at all. In that purpose, as defined by the northern majority, Howard and his bureau succeeded.

McFeely's style is ungraceful and occasionally unclear. One wonders in places, also, how valid the attitudes of the late 1960's are when applied to the quite different situation of a century ago. For example, praise for the schools and colleges launched under the aegis of the bureau is coupled with the assertion that "much of the purpose of these schools was to channel the energy of the Negroes into waiting for freedom rather than fighting for it." Despite these limitations, *Yankee Stepfather* is a book that scholars should note.

Duke University

ROBERT F. DURDEN

NEW MEXICO'S QUEST FOR STATEHOOD, 1846-1912. By *Robert W. Larson*. ([Albuquerque:] University of New Mexico Press. 1968. Pp. viii, 405. \$10.00.)

ALTHOUGH relatively brief in comparison to its struggle for statehood, New Mexico's efforts to achieve territorial status were symbolic of events that followed. Professor Larson begins the story with General Stephen Kearny's *entrada* into the southwestern province during the summer of 1846 and concludes with the admission of the forty-seventh state into the Union on February 14, 1912. Among the obstacles that contributed to the long delay were Texas' claim to all the region east of the Rio Grande, prolonged Indian troubles, sparse population, and the unfavorable image projected by the Lincoln County War and other acts of violence.

The author also maintains that "widespread prejudices of Easterners toward the *Hispano*, Catholic population" was an important factor, especially on the part of Senator Albert Beveridge. Equally important was the concern that westerners already held a disproportionate amount of power in national politics. Moreover, the territory experienced chronic political discord and internal feuds, but Larson dismisses these as minor obstacles in relation to other matters.

From the Compromise of 1850 until well into the twentieth century, New Mexico's quest for statehood made it a political pawn for various "package deals" that never quite materialized. The region was frequently a victim of bad luck, the most notable example of which occurred in 1876 when sufficient votes to pass an organic act appeared certain. Stephen Elkins, New Mexico's delegate to Congress, appeared on the floor of the House of Representatives just as a Republican congressman had concluded a "fire-

eating" speech castigating the South. His ill-timed handshake and congratulations conferred upon the speaker did not go unnoticed, and almost to a man southern congressmen voted against the impending legislation.

This book turns out to be exactly what the title implies and is a step-by-step chronology of events that span the sixty-six-year struggle for statehood. Except for particulars, it contains little that specialists do not already know. But in synthesizing and arranging the various developments into proper and concise relationship to one another, the author has performed an important service, especially for students of southwestern history. His sources are impressive and his facts carefully documented. If at times the style appears a little flat, it at least avoids the dramatic clichés and exaggerated prose commonly associated with New Mexican themes.

University of Toledo

W. EUGENE HOLLON

THE COUSIN JACKS: THE CORNISH IN AMERICA. By A. L. Rowse. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1969. Pp. xi, 451. \$8.95.)

THE Cornish are among the last of the major Celtic groups in America to be academically isolated and investigated. The Irish and Scots have been seen and written about for over a hundred years, the Welsh have been the basis of several works since World War I, and now the Cornish have been the subject of three books within the last three years (Arthur Cecil Todd, *The Cornish Miner in America* [1967], John Rowe, "Western Mining Frontiers" [in press], and the present study). Two of the authors are Cornish by birth; the third is Cornish by adoption.

Numerous problems confront the student of Cornish immigration. The Cornish were generally uneducated laboring people who left few records. They settled in wide areas of America and quickly dissolved into the society. They spoke English and were often identified as English or British, and they often did not sail from Cornish ports. When they arrived, they organized few fraternal organizations, they published no distinctly Cornish newspapers, and they inspired relatively little notice by American writers of fiction.

Dr. Rowse, therefore, has tended to emphasize the milieu into which the Cornish were absorbed more than the peculiar contributions that they made. The work is primarily a series of interesting biographies, historical vignettes, and notices of Cornish activity in mining camps. It stresses Cornish family names and notes their derivation, pronunciation, and Americanization. Contemporary telephone directories and similar lists of names are often used to suggest the Cornish influx into various American cities. The work is more biographical than analytical, more antiquarian than critical.

In his introductory remarks the author suggests that he is the voice for thousands of "Cornish folk scattered round the world." *The Cousin Jacks* does indeed demonstrate a deep understanding of the Cornish people and a broad knowledge of the history, geography, and culture that reshaped the migrants' lives in America. Cornish jokes, stories, food, religion, and habits are woven into scores of intimate memoirs. The book radiates charm, but applies few sociological techniques; it is filled with feeling, but supplies few demographic insights. (There are notes but no bibliography.) It more often relies upon observation and conversation than upon statistics and interpretation. Its tone is one of spirit, romance, and sentiment.

University of Nevada

WILBUR S. SHEPPERSON

ON THE CATTLE RANGES OF THE OREGON COUNTRY. By *J. Orin Oliphant*.
(Seattle: University of Washington Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 372. \$8.95.)

EXCEPT for articles written mostly by Professor Oliphant, the scholarly literature on ranching in the Pacific Northwest is sparse. While the business of droving and raising cattle from Texas to the northern Great Plains has been celebrated extensively, little attention has been devoted to the cattlemen's frontier elsewhere. These circumstances justify the author's lifelong study, which is brought to fruition in this important volume.

Ranching east of the Cascade Mountains is regarded as a stage in the economic development of the upper Columbia Basin. The origins of this industry, which have been traced to western Oregon and Washington, provided a base for expansion eastward. During the period of joint occupancy with Great Britain, Spanish cattle were imported from California to the Willamette Valley and Puget Sound; higher grades of cattle were introduced by the Hudson's Bay Company, and Oregon emigrants brought stock from the Middle West. Between 1850 and 1868, as mining camps in California, British Columbia, Idaho, and Montana provided a market, cattle raising became lucrative. It was mining in the western part of the Rocky Mountains that lured cattlemen to the upper Columbia Basin in the late 1860's. The Indians, encouraged by missionaries, had proven the feasibility of raising cattle on the open range, and when they were confined to reservations much grassland was available for white occupancy. By 1871 trans-cascadia had become a fattening country for cattle bred in the Willamette Valley.

As the mining rushes subsided, the demand for beef in Idaho and Montana sharply decreased. By the mid-1870's, the cattlemen of the "Inland Empire" found their ranges overstocked and the price of beef depressed. They were largely dependent upon Seattle, Tacoma, Portland, and San Francisco as markets. Roads were built through the Snoqualmie and Naches Passes to facilitate trailing to western Washington. Cattle were driven to The Dalles for shipment by steamer down the Columbia River. For cattlemen of southeastern Oregon, the closest shipping point was Winnemucca, Nevada, on the Central Pacific Railway.

The older communities along the Pacific Coast could not consume enough beef to relieve the surplus, and another outlet was needed. Because the price of cattle was depressed, buyers from Wyoming, Montana, Nevada, and even Arizona found the Pacific Northwest an attractive place to procure stockers. Oliphant emphasizes the importance of cattle drives that helped stock the ranges east of the Rocky Mountains between 1878 and 1883. He estimates that 400,000 cattle were driven out of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho during these few years, with salutary results for the economy of the region.

Many particulars about ranching in trans-cascadia are drawn from Clarence W. Gordon's "Report on Cattle, Sheep, and Swine," which accompanied the tenth federal census (1880). These include the sizes of herds owned by the most prominent cattlemen of the Columbia Basin, descriptions of ranches and their outfits, wages paid to cowboys and foremen, the manner in which roundups were conducted and cattle branded, the practice of "slick-eating" as a fraudulent means of claiming unbranded calves, and annual losses of stock from diseases, predators, and inclement weather. Many other sources, especially newspapers, are employed to provide detailed information about this frontier industry and to invite comparison with open range ranching on the northern Great Plains.

Like those east of the Rockies, the cattlemen of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho were slow to learn the wisdom of providing winter feed in case of emergency, and

their losses were the price of negligence in 1889-1890. A significant difference between the two regions was that stockgrower's associations of the Pacific Northwest were organized only on a district or regional basis; there was nothing comparable to the powerful state organizations of Montana, Wyoming, and Colorado. The book ends with a discussion of the encroachment of wheat farming and sheep grazing upon the cattle ranges; as in other regions this produced controversy over herd legislation and caused range wars.

There are some things to criticize adversely. The repeated use of the term "band" in referring to herds of cattle, although found in the *Walla Walla Union* for 1878, seems inappropriate. The argument that Indian reservations were too large and should either have been reduced in size or leased to white cattlemen represents an ethnocentric viewpoint. This argument, which appears in a chapter entitled "Lo, The Poor Indian," was first published in *Agricultural History* (XXIV [Jan. 1950], 42-58) and has been only slightly edited. Finally, the author has omitted George E. Carter's "The Cattle Industry of Eastern Oregon, 1880-1890" (*Oregon Historical Quarterly*, LXVIII [June 1966], 139-59), from his bibliographical essay.

St. Olaf College

HENRY E. FRITZ

THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN ANTEBELLUM SOUTH CAROLINA. By Ernest McPherson Lander, Jr. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 122. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Lander's slim volume chronicles the failure of textile manufacturing in antebellum South Carolina. He records details of businesses begun and businesses abandoned; indeed, he appears to have located virtually every attempt at textile manufacturing in the Palmetto State. The few mills that managed to survive for a number of years can be considered successful solely in the context of the dismal performance of other South Carolina firms. Only William Gregg's Graniteville mill can be compared to mills in the Northeast, but it was unique for South Carolina and the other southern states. Thus, in 1860, South Carolina had a meager \$820,000 invested in cotton mills, almost half of which was in the Graniteville mill; in contrast, Massachusetts in the same year had almost \$34,000,000 invested in cotton mills, which was more than three and a half times the total investment in all the southern states combined.

Although Lander has assiduously combed the meager extant sources for details about the rise and decline of mills in South Carolina, his analysis of the reasons for the failure of textile manufacturing in the state are far from adequate. He notes that the mills were plagued by inadequate investment, insufficient sources of power, a shortage of skilled personnel, and competition from New England, but he fails to show why these problems persisted. The book closes in a tone of bafflement: "Yet, with the move for secession gaining momentum in South Carolina, it is to be wondered why the radicals did not encourage industry." The author concludes lamely by stating that the secessionists' "hatred for the North obviously blinded them to economic reality." But, again, the question remains—why?

Clearly, manufacturing of all kinds lagged in the ante bellum South. Some scholars have traced the reasons to the slave system, arguing that the ruling class of planters opposed the development of manufacturing because they feared the rise of an industrial class that would challenge their hegemony and undermine the institution of slavery. Others have maintained that the South had a comparative advantage in cotton production and that, therefore, this remained the most economically rational investment. Still

others have argued that slavery was notoriously inefficient and expensive in manufacturing and that, therefore, southern industry was hampered by the lack of an adequate labor force. A local study could provide the means to test these or other explanations. Unfortunately, Lander has not taken his essentially narrative description to this level.

University of Missouri, Columbia

HAROLD D. WOODMAN

SCIENTISTS IN CONFLICT: THE BEGINNINGS OF THE OIL INDUSTRY IN CALIFORNIA. By *Gerald T. White*. (San Marino, Calif.: Huntington Library. 1968. Pp. xiii, 272. \$8.00.)

THIS is a timely book. People who watch in dismay as underwater oil wells run amuck and pollute the Santa Barbara Channel may well be interested in learning more about the origins of the oil industry in California. And scientists who are having second thoughts about the profitability of their alliance with the military-industrial complex may find it instructive to read of the unhappy experiences of Benjamin Silliman, Jr., as a consultant in the California mineral and oil industries.

The story begins with the establishment of the California Geological Survey under the able direction of Josiah Whitney in 1860. Whitney, a "pure" scientist, chronically promised more than he could deliver and sometimes seemed more interested in producing volumes on the paleontology and ornithology of California than on the economic geology that promised aid to those eager to exploit California's natural resources. Whitney's problems were complicated in 1864 when Silliman came west and spent the year as a consultant, issuing generally optimistic forecasts for the future of various mining and oil properties. Silliman's relations with various entrepreneurs were such that he laid himself open to the charge of prostituting his scientific talents in the interest of some dubious speculations. Particularly unfortunate were his predictions of a bright future for the California oil industry, based as they were in large part on analyses of an oil sample that had been liberally "salted" with kerosene. Whitney, who had done little work in the oil fields, arrogantly dismissed Silliman's claims and became convinced that Silliman had debased his scientific position. When Whitney further became convinced, incorrectly, that irate oil speculators had been responsible for the demise of the California Geological Survey, he undertook a personal and professional vendetta against Silliman that came to a climax in 1874-1875 in an unsuccessful attempt to oust Silliman from the prestigious National Academy of Sciences. Events of the 1870's and 1880's provided Silliman with a measure of vindication, but in the final analysis the dispute left both Whitney and Silliman with tarnished reputations.

Professor White's book, based originally on a manuscript of the early California oil industry left unfinished by the late great petroleum geologist, E. L. DeGolyer, is an admirable study founded on a wealth of manuscript materials. For the most part White has been content to let this complex story of scientific politics unfold of itself, offering only intermittent judgments. It is a fascinating account, replete with irony, and it demonstrates vividly the role of personal passion in scientific dispute. This monograph well illustrates the way in which the investigation of limited topics can sometimes illuminate large issues. It should not be overlooked by anyone interested in the politics of American science.

There are good notes, a reliable index, adequate maps, and photographs of the principal participants in the conflict.

State University of New York, Albany

KENDALL BIRR

BRAXTON BRAGG AND CONFEDERATE DEFEAT. Volume I, FIELD COMMAND. By *Grady McWhiney*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 421. \$10.00.)

GRANT TAKES COMMAND. By *Bruce Catton*. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1969. Pp. 556. \$10.00.)

THE title of this review, if titles were allowed in this journal, might well be "Studies in Failure and Success." The two volumes under consideration are military biographies, one of a Confederate general and the other of a Union general. The Confederate general, Bragg, started his war career with what appeared to be bright promise, and only gradually did it become known that he had serious faults and was unfit for field command. Professor McWhiney's volume, the first of a projected two-volume work, takes Bragg to the middle of April 1863, when it was clear to everyone except Jefferson Davis that the general should be removed. Bragg has one more defeat to achieve, in the Chattanooga campaign, but it is evident, at the conclusion of this volume, that as a soldier he has failed.

The other general, Grant, began his war career in a modest command and under the cloud of an undeserved bad prewar reputation. He advanced gradually at first, and then, as his merits became known, quickly. Finally he emerged as the greatest of the northern generals, and, in the opinion of a growing number of critics today, as the greatest general of the war. Mr. Catton's volume concludes a two- or three-volume biography, depending on the taste of the classifier. The late Lloyd Lewis planned a multi-volume life of Grant, but at the time of his death had published only one volume, *Captain Sam Grant* (1950), which covered Grant's life up to 1861. Catton, by arrangement, took up the story there, and his *Grant Moves South* went through the Vicksburg campaign. The present volume begins in the summer of 1863 and concludes with Appomattox and the end of the war. Grant has succeeded magnificently as a soldier, but he is moving now along a new path that will lead to the presidency, and, ironically, failure is foreshadowed for him too.

McWhiney's work will undoubtedly be criticized by some for its length. Why should Braxton Bragg be accorded two volumes? Is this not the most extended account of futility ever written? There is some evident padding in the book, but McWhiney is justified in taking the space. The Confederacy, after all, was a failure, and this result was, in large part, brought about by the men who led it. We can better understand the failure if we have detailed studies of the leaders.

This study is detailed as it traces Bragg's prewar career as boy and youth, West Point cadet, junior officer, and Louisiana planter. Already some of the characteristics he would display as a general were ominously apparent: an almost morbid touchiness and tendency to dispute with others; frequent illnesses that were "partly psychological"; and, as an officer, a violent insistence on training and discipline. Even more detailed is the treatment of Bragg's war career, from his first assignment at Pensacola to his command of the Army of Tennessee after Shiloh and on to the railroad movement to Chattanooga (certainly one of the great transportation feats of the war) and the Kentucky campaign, Perryville, and Stone's River. The result adds up to an impressive achievement. We have the fullest account of Bragg yet to be written and a new dimension on the Confederate war in the West. McWhiney concludes that Bragg failed because he was the wrong man in the wrong place; he should have been named as inspector general or chief of staff.

Catton begins his book, as we might expect he would, with an episode. A staff

officer from Grant has come to Washington, officially to bring dispatches, but actually to fill in the administration on this general in the West who was being talked of as the coming man of the war but about whom men in the high command knew little. From this Catton sweeps into the story of Grant's rise: his appointment as commander of the western department and his subsequent victory at Chattanooga, the call to Washington in 1864 to become general in chief of all Union armies, and, finally, Grant's direction of the Virginia campaign that ended the war. It is all told in the style we associate with Catton: vivid and haunting descriptions of battles and men, flashing insights into issues and individuals, and, occasionally, a too ready acceptance of a particular piece of evidence. As an example of the last tendency, Catton swallows whole the myth, created by Grant himself, that Lincoln let the general run the war absolutely as he pleased and did not even want to know Grant's plans. (McWhiney also does some swallowing, accepting Bragg's claim that the Confederates could have made a last successful attack at Shiloh.)

Overall, this is a superb book, and, with Catton's preceding volume, constitutes one of the best military biographies that we have. Analytical as well as descriptive, it develops Grant's evolution as a general and indeed the evolution of the whole Union war effort. U. S. Grant had a lot to do with making that effort succeed, and after this biography there should be none to say that he was not great.

Louisiana State University

T. HARRY WILLIAMS

JUDICIAL POWER AND RECONSTRUCTION POLITICS. By *Stanley I. Kutler*. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 178. \$5.95.)

EVERYMAN'S CONSTITUTION: HISTORICAL ESSAYS ON THE FOURTEENTH AMENDMENT, THE "CONSPIRACY THEORY", AND AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONALISM. By *Howard Jay Graham*. With a foreword by *Leonard W. Levy*. (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin. 1968. Pp. xiv, 631. \$12.95.)

THESE two books are based on thorough research, are well written, and represent significant contributions to United States constitutional history. One is a rather slender volume by a relative newcomer to the field; the other is a massive tome by a veteran who recently retired from the staff of the Los Angeles County Law Library, where he served for nearly thirty years.

Kutler's work revises, on the whole convincingly, the traditional view that during Reconstruction the Supreme Court was discredited and impotent and develops the thesis that "the Court in this period was characterized by forcefulness and not timidity, by judicious and self-imposed restraint rather than retreat, by boldness and defiance instead of cowardice and impotence, and by a creative and determinative role with no abdication of its rightful powers." Some of Kutler's views appeared in his article, "*Ex parte McCordle*" (*AHR*, LXXII [Apr. 1967], 835-51).

Kutler also maintains that "there was no single-minded, overriding attitude of hostility toward the Court within the Republican party, and at no time was the Court in danger of 'annihilation.'" The act of 1866 designed to reduce the number of justices from ten to seven was not, he holds, a Radical move against the Court and Johnson, and he points out that some of the justices desired the change and that, contrary to what many historians have said, Johnson did not veto the bill but signed it into law. He also finds reasons, other than the departure of Johnson, for the 1869 restoration of the Court to nine.

Everyman's Constitution reprints and brings together thirteen articles written by Howard Jay Graham since 1938 and published in various law journals from coast to coast. Rather extensive editorial notes have been added that "revise and update, and sometimes . . . qualify or extend statements and interpretations." In addition, there are two chapters composed of material not previously published and an introduction and an epilogue designed to give a summary and over-all view. Among the most significant of Graham's articles are the two on "The 'Conspiracy Theory' of the Fourteenth Amendment" and those on "Justice Field and the Fourteenth Amendment," "The Early Antislavery Backgrounds of the Fourteenth Amendment," and "The Fourteenth Amendment and School Segregation." These, along with other articles, destroy the theory that the main purpose of the framers of the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment was to provide protection for the nation's growing corporate interests rather than for the recently freed Negroes. "The need—and the plan—was to erase the color line," Graham writes, "to erase it the only way we too have learned it can be erased: by eroding and eradicating those discriminations and those denials of protection which themselves preserve and foster prejudice."

During the century that the Fourteenth Amendment has been a part of the Constitution, it has become increasingly important to all Americans and also to aliens living in this country. Particularly during the past half century, as the Supreme Court has read more and more of the guarantees of the federal Bill of Rights into the first section of the Fourteenth Amendment, the relationship of state and national governments has been very greatly altered, and the daily lives of the American people significantly affected. The amendment became *Everyman's Constitution*. Consequently there has been much written about the amendment, the motives of its framers, and the meaning of its clauses, but no one has contributed more to a correct understanding of these problems than Graham. More than that, his writings have influenced the Supreme Court's changing interpretation of the amendment including the current view that its provisions are not entirely negative, but also authorize the federal government to act affirmatively.

University of California, Los Angeles

BRainerd DYER

FROM EVANGELICALISM TO PROGRESSIVISM AT OBERLIN COLLEGE, 1866-1917. By *John Barnard*. ([Columbus:] Ohio State University Press. 1969. Pp. 171. \$7.50.)

A STUDENT of Robert S. Fletcher has continued the story of Oberlin College where Fletcher left off his distinguished work. John Barnard covers the presidencies of James H. Fairchild, William Gay Ballantine, John H. Barrows, and Henry Churchill King to 1917. While he justifies writing a predominantly presidential history of the college, Barnard also notes that curricular innovation after 1875 came through the criticisms of undergraduates such as George Herbert Mead in philosophy and Robert A. Millikan in physics, and he emphasizes that in one year's teaching time young John R. Commons assured a future for the social sciences at Oberlin. The major theme of this concise and analytical monograph is the change that came to the college as its singular evangelical and individualistic point of view gradually made room for, but was not displaced by, humanistic and social learning for "the Amelioration of Mankind." Old pieties and new intellectual attitudes combined in the 1880's to make Oberlin, which was located near the pulpit of its friend, Washington Gladden, in Columbus, Ohio, an early collegiate center of the social gospel. The progressive atmosphere that prevailed at the

college during the 1890's, so reminiscent of that in ante bellum Oberlin, though not as pervasive, was fostered by the liberal Protestant theology of its clerical presidents and leading professors, which Barnard explores most fully in the thought of President King. Oberlin progressivism was optimistic and constantly moralizing. It was moderately devoted to some reforms, but, under some inspired teachers, it was thoroughly concerned with the study of social conditions. The old evangelicalism retained its influence until World War I.

I hope that Barnard or someone else will soon put this Oberlin chapter within the context of a comparative and critical history of American colleges. Barnard has some illuminating statistics on the social and educational backgrounds of students, faculty, and trustees: he charts the gradual acquisition of nonalumni and of graduate degree holders on the faculty over the opposition of old Oberlin hands to whom teaching came first and bookmaking was a disconcerting, even frivolous pastime for a real teacher; he discovers that while businessmen trustees increased after the Civil War, as in other colleges, at Oberlin they were selected more for their piety and regional philanthropy than for their worldly success, a characteristic that changed by 1902. Oberlin was indeed different throughout the nineteenth century, but just how different remains to be told in another study that might well contain some of the regional insights and comparative qualities of George E. Peterson's *The New England College in the Age of the University*.

University of California, Davis

WILSON SMITH

THEODORE ROOSEVELT AND THE POLITICS OF POWER. By *G. Wallace Chessman*. [The Library of American Biography.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1969. Pp. viii, 214. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Chessman's two-hundred-page monograph on Theodore Roosevelt meets the high standards set by other authors in "The Library of American Biography" series. It is succinct, readable, and presents an excellent synthesis of the literature on Roosevelt. The introductions to each of the eight chapters are set apart, with quotations and summaries that describe the aims of the chapters and their interrelationships. The readability of the work is enhanced by a discreet selection of quotations, most of them drawn from Morison and Blum's *The Letters of Theodore Roosevelt* and the Hagedorn and Lodge collections of Roosevelt correspondence. The author also draws on the pertinent secondary sources, especially Blum's *The Republican Roosevelt* for a domestic assessment and Howard K. Beale's definitive book for a view of Roosevelt's foreign policy.

The author treats his subject sympathetically. Roosevelt understood the politics of power and used it well. Having previously written the definitive work on TR's governorship, Chessman describes well Roosevelt's uses of power to effect reform in New York State. Blum's model for governing comes through in the assessment of the presidential years, and the politics of power is most apparent in Roosevelt's foreign affairs. In the battle of 1912 at "Armageddon" Chessman sees "morality" triumphing over "expediency." Regarding his subject's latter years, the author believes that, had Roosevelt lived longer, "He could have kept the Republicans from so far succumbing to domestic reaction in the 1920's."

I adhere to the peculiar, critical bent of historians and qualify Chessman's work as follows. While Roosevelt successfully eliminated court review from the 1906 meat inspection legislation, the packers successfully eliminated the Secretary of Agriculture

as the final locus of appellate authority. Roosevelt withdrew considerably more than 43,000,000 acres of national forests from public sale. TR's role in the 1910 New York Republican State Convention was not only a conservative one of pro-Taft expediency; there he successfully defeated the conservative forces in their fight against the direct primary plank. As noted previously, however, *Theodore Roosevelt and the Politics of Power* is a competent study.

State University College, Geneseo, New York

MARTIN L. FAUSOLD

DAMNED UPCOUNTRYMAN: WILLIAM WATTS BALL. A STUDY IN AMERICAN CONSERVATISM. By *John D. Stark*. [Duke Historical Publications.] (Durham, N. C.: Duke University Press. 1968. Pp. 248. \$8.50.)

LONG before his death in 1952, W. W. Ball had gained national recognition as a critic of the New Deal and a genteel reactionary whose incisive views often seemed out of kilter with the twentieth century. His father, Beauford Ball, was a prosperous up-country lawyer and Bourbon leader who, as Laurens County Democratic chairman, qualified as a redeemer. It was appropriate that Ball attended South Carolina College, where, enamored with Calhoun's and Dr. Thomas Cooper's philosophy, his conservatism began to crystallize. After a brief teaching stint and attendance at the University of Virginia Law School, he turned to journalism, and it became his lifelong career. In 1890, the year Ben Tillman captured the South Carolina governorship, Ball purchased the weekly *Laurens Advertiser*, which he edited for four years. He revived the failing *Charleston Evening Post* (1895-1897) and worked for the *Florida Times-Union* for a year and a half at the turn of the century. In 1904 he began a nineteen-year tenure as editor of the *Gonzales' Columbia State*, a position that he resigned to become dean of the University of South Carolina's School of Journalism in 1923. But he could not absent himself permanently from the thrill and power of the daily press, and in 1927 he accepted the editorship of the *Charleston News and Observer*, where he remained until shortly before his death.

Ball was a contradictory personality in many ways. Abundantly endowed with the independence and individualism of the upcountry, he loved Charleston with the zeal of a convert. Increasingly appealing to anti-Negro sentiment in an effort to contain liberalism, he made a career of opposing the racist politicians of South Carolina. As much as any man, he aided in the defeats of Cole Blease and the rise to power of James F. Byrnes, whom he abandoned during his New Deal days. His newspapers were the most prestigious in the state, and his political potency was undeniable.

Yet in many ways Ball was a pathetic character, dominated by a defeatist philosophy in a crumbling world. He longed for the security of an agrarian society where widespread landownership and strict educational qualifications for voting would bring stability. Only occasionally did he venture into modern times, but when he did, as when he advocated Negro education, he usually failed to present programs to promote his ideals.

Professor Stark's biography is an incisive study of Ball and his era in South Carolina. Had newspapers and periodical literature other than that directly related to Ball been used, a richer picture of the times could have been drawn. Furthermore, a fuller treatment of Ball's nonpolitical opinions would be enlightening, particularly for the period before 1916 at which time his diary becomes available. One cannot read this well-written biography, however, without gaining insight into a man and an era.

Samford University

HUGH C. BAILEY

THE PROGRESSIVE HISTORIANS: TURNER, BEARD, PARRINGTON. By
Richard Hofstadter. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1968. Pp. xvii, 498, xiii. \$8.95.)

THE editors of this *Review* will forgive me, I hope, if I depart momentarily from the austere standards formulated in their "Suggestions for Reviewers," by saying that when they asked me to write a notice of Richard Hofstadter's admirable book I felt at first like a Ph.D. who hears the words, "Is there a doctor in the house?" I am not a member of the historians' guild and do not have one of their licenses to prescribe or heal, but since I have studied certain aspects of the Progressive period, I finally decided to accept the invitation to treat, as it were, this long-expected book. I say "long-expected" not because I had known that Hofstadter was writing it, but because I had long surmised that so distinguished a historian would sooner or later be led to study the aspect of the Progressive era he deals with in this work. I remembered how self-denying he was, for example, in his *Age of Reform*, where he insisted that he was not concerned with what he called the high culture of the period, not concerned with its best but with its most characteristic thinking, and not concerned with its intellectuals but rather with those he called "middle brow writers." Now, in a burst of well-earned self-indulgence, Hofstadter has lifted his eyes from the muckrakers toward three of the more high-browed intellectuals of the Progressive period, and, having looked that far up, he has even been led to discourse philosophically on the nature of historical writing.

Hofstadter's four main concerns are: to place Turner, Beard, and Parrington in the history of American thought; to give us some insight into their lives and personalities; to evaluate their more specific historical views in the light of more recent research (and in Parrington's case more recent literary criticism); and, finally, to assess in a more general way their emphasis upon the role of conflict in American history as epitomized in Turner's famous statement that "we may trace the contest between the capitalist and the democratic pioneer from the earliest colonial days."

In carrying out the second and third of his concerns, Hofstadter makes his greatest contribution. He has a dazzling command of the enormous literature stimulated by Turner's treatment of the frontier, by Beard's work on the economic interpretation of the Constitution and of Jeffersonian democracy, and by Parrington's almost obsessive preoccupation with whether American writers were or were not in touch with reality. By forcefully exercising this command, Hofstadter exposes his subjects' errors of fact, the defects of some of their explanations, and the inadequacy of some of their value judgments, all without denying that they called attention to something that cannot be omitted from American history. On the other hand, Hofstadter seems to me less successful in locating his three men in the history of thought, and in his more general reflections on the role of factors like the frontier, economics, and conflict in American history.

In trying to place Turner, Beard, and Parrington in the history of American thought, I think that Hofstadter underestimates an important element of continuity between them and their predecessors, namely an antipathy to the large American city. Hofstadter rightly says that the Progressive historians "took the writing of American history out of the hands of the Brahmins and the satisfied classes," but perhaps the brevity of his forty-page sketch of pre-Turnerian historiography prevents him from making clear that the middle western Populistic, antiurban agrarianism of the Progressive historians perpetuated, in a certain respect, an attitude toward the large American city that had been typical of the eastern Brahmin historians. Prescott, in his correspondence, called New York the "Yankee Babylon" and once vowed that

he would never stay there for more than three days. Russel Nye's biography of Bancroft (1944) makes clear Bancroft's feeling that farmers are the true material for a republic and that city merchants are parasites on them. In 1878 Parkman wrote an article on "The Failure of Universal Suffrage" (*North American Review*, CXXVII [1878], 1-20), maintaining that in American cities the diseases of the body politic were gathered to a head, that in them "the dangerous classes" were most numerous and strong, that in them "the barbarism that we have armed and organized stands ready to overwhelm us," and that these "cities have become a prey." And then there are Henry Adams' waspish views, explained in the fifth chapter of *The Intellectual versus the City* (1962), by Lucia White and me, on what Adams regarded as plutocratic and Jewish American cities. In short, the Brahmins fired at the growing American city from a Boston that was fading out, whereas Turner, Beard, and Parrington fired at it from a Populist Middle West that wanted in.

Therefore—and this will lead me to my comments on Hofstadter's fourth concern—the Progressive historians were distinguished from their American predecessors less by their antiurban values than by their notion, sufficiently emphasized by Hofstadter, that the frontier or the economic factor played a central or decisive role in American history. Not *the only* role, they granted, just as a man who says that the dryness of the powder was the decisive factor in bringing about an explosion will grant that the spark was also a factor. The question that any student of Beard and Turner must face is that of analyzing what they meant, or could have meant, by saying that economics or the frontier was central or decisive. On this question Hofstadter is not very helpful. He says, for example, "a very large part of what historians differ about boils down to questions of emphasis, to arguments about how much stress we want to put on this factor rather than that, when we all admit that both were at work. And I see no way of arriving at a final consensus on questions of this kind. I take comfort in a remark Carl Becker once made in objecting to the very idea of a definitive history: 'Who cares to open a book that is without defect or amiable weakness?'" (pp. xv-xvi). With all due respect to our author and Becker, I must say that it is silly to take this kind of comfort. It is also surprising that poor Turner and Beard should be so forcefully criticized by one who believes what Hofstadter says in the above passage, or by one who, like Hofstadter, asks, but cannot answer the question: "By what calibrations do we measure and compare the weight of such grand imponderables as the frontier, as against the nonfeudal inheritance of America, or its Protestant background, or its ethnic mixture?" (p. 122). If Hofstadter cannot objectively weigh the importance of one contributing factor as against another, on what ground can he say that the Turner factor or the Beard factor is *not* central, or, for that matter, that anything is not central? That historians should not be able to arrive at a "final consensus" on which factor is central is not surprising, but that they should not have any clear conception of centrality seems to me depressing so long as they keep making assertions about what is or is not central.

I do not think that this problem can be solved merely by calling attention to "the rediscovery of complexity in American history" and the "new awareness of the multiplicity of forces" that developed in the 1950's; nor do I think that Hofstadter can avoid the responsibility of analyzing what is meant by saying that economic interests are not central by declaring that "the old Progressive antinomy between ideas and interests, between appearances and reality has been dissolved"—whatever that means. Neither is the problem solved by saying that recent historians like Bernard Bailyn have shown that ideas and attitudes "must be taken into consideration" if we

are to understand the background and the effects of the American Revolution (p. 443). In his brilliant study, *The Ideological Origins of the American Revolution* (1967), Bailyn is not merely concerned to *take into consideration* the ideological, political, and constitutional aspects of the Revolution, nor content merely to put economics on a par with ideology and politics as elements in a complex set of forces. He pointedly says that "the American Revolution was above all else an ideological, constitutional, political struggle and not primarily a controversy between social groups undertaken to force changes in the organization of the society or the economy" (p. vi). But what does "above all else" mean and what does "primarily" mean? These questions must be answered by those who agree with the Progressive historians as well as by their critics, and, until they are, I do not see how we can make very confident assertions about who is right in the controversy. And when Hofstadter tries to resolve such controversies by saying that they all boil down to questions of emphasis, I am reminded of a story.

A rabbi in a small Russian village was conducting a judicial hearing, and his wife was sitting on the bench with him. The first disputant came and told his story; the rabbi stroked his beard and told him, "You are right!" The first disputant left and was followed by the second, who told a contrary story. The rabbi stroked his beard and said to him, "You are right!" After the second disputant left, the rabbi's wife turned to the rabbi and asked, "Rabbi, they told opposite stories. How could you tell each of them that he was right?" The rabbi stroked his beard and said to her, "You are right!"

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MORTON WHITE

WHEN WORKERS ORGANIZE: NEW YORK CITY IN THE PROGRESSIVE ERA. By *Melvyn Dubofsky*. (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 225. \$7.50.)

UNTIL recently, very few studies of labor history have focused on union activity on the local level, be it in a city or a state. Historical studies of local unions are even rarer. Scholars have been fascinated by the national union, by the major labor leaders, by, if I may be forgiven the use of the term, macrohistory rather than microhistory.

Local studies are, however, important for they test some of the generalizations made about labor history. The role of unions in politics, for example, takes on more meaning when one reads Irwin Yellowitz' study of labor in New York State or Philip Taft's on California. Similarly, Professor Melvyn Dubofsky, of the department of history at the University of Massachusetts, illuminates the role of labor during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

The book makes two major contributions. First, it shows that the worker during the Progressive era, even on the local level, continued to be more concerned with his efforts to form unions and to fight management than with political action and social reform. Second, Dubofsky shows that when the plight of the worker touched the middle-class progressive's sentimental side (as happened with the female garmentworkers), he helped the workers succeed in their organizing efforts. When, however, the striking workers, such as garbage collectors or transit employees, inconvenienced the middle-class progressive or violated his idea of proper behavior, he fought the workers and helped to break their unions.

To tell his story, Dubofsky describes working-class life in New York City, the role played by immigrants, the emerging philosophy of trade unionism in the city,

the organizational strikes in the needle trades and the development of unionism in that industry, the unsuccessful organizational disputes in the nongarment trades, and the "general strike fiasco" in 1916 prompted by a stoppage in the city transit lines.

Dubofsky thus shows what many other writers have also claimed, namely, that the political atmosphere in a community helps to determine whether unions will succeed or not. And he does this as most scholars have done, by mainly emphasizing the political views of the leadership in the community. But rarely is his emphasis on the political views of the workers and whether those views correlate with decisions to join unions. We know, for example, that white-collar people who join unions today tend to be to the Left politically of those who do not. Similarly, might not the political identification of the needle trade workers have been as influential in their success as the fact that there was a progressive mayor? He also served when some of the other unions, whose members may have had different political identifications, failed. If Dubofsky's "hypothesis that the organizational impulse motivating New York's working class emanated from a common urban environment enlivened by reform ferment," he also has to explain adequately why workers other than the ones he described did not organize. Unfortunately, he does not. Other scholars should test this hypothesis in other local communities led by progressives. Dubofsky, notwithstanding these comments, has told his story well, and he has raised some important questions. It is just that more work needs to be done.

Michigan State University

ALBERT A. BLUM

MAJORITY PARTY LEADERSHIP IN CONGRESS. By *Randall B. Ripley*. [The Study of Congress Series.] (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1969. Pp. xiii, 194. \$5.00.)

THE primary value that this study in political science should have for historians is the applicability of its generalizations to research on twentieth-century legislation. Ever since Theodore Roosevelt's presidency, congressional success has been measured by the initiative of the chief executive. Accordingly, Ripley characterizes the majority party leader as a mediator between the President and other congressional leaders. This relationship leads him to classify four types of majorities: presidential-partisan, presidential-bipartisan, congressional, and truncated (an awful term!). The first two denote presidential leadership dependent solely upon the President's party and leadership which includes cooperating members of the opposition. Congressional majority party leadership reverses the legislative initiative as the President becomes a passive factor. Ripley concedes that the differences from one Congress to another could be "somewhat ambiguous," but there is no mistaking a truncated majority leadership. That involves either different party majorities in each house or a congressional majority of one party and a President of the other. President Nixon and Senator Mansfield, for example, are experts on truncated majorities.

After categorizing the Congresses of this century, Ripley analyzes ten examples of each of his four majorities, which comprises most of the study. This is a tedious process, and the designations are partially arbitrary. The author should not be faulted for rejecting the assistance of roll call data in making his designations; he made this decision because "they proved more distracting than helpful." His conclusions, however, are somewhat less than startling. In seeking those conditions that induce legislative success, Ripley decides that large majorities cooperating with an activist President present Congress with the optimum for legislative accomplishment.

He briefly mentions two arguments of some significance. In one of these, Ripley rejects the thesis that overloaded majorities are automatically self-defeating and maintains instead that other factors, such as poor communication between Capitol Hill and the White House, are what actually disrupt a majority's leadership. He discards the possibility of an oversized majority. In the second of the arguments Ripley claims that experience does not necessarily facilitate legislating, persuasively contending that new party leaders bring greater zeal to the task of passing a party program than lethargic, established majority leaders.

Institutional studies tend to be one dimensional, and Ripley's book is not an exception. Institutions do not function in vacuums. Still, when Ripley discusses Franklin Roosevelt's "Hundred Days" Congress, the depression ferment recedes into the background like the crowd at a televised football game. Social forces are not as incidental to legislating as they appear in this volume.

Northern Illinois University

JORDAN A. SCHWARZ

THE SHADOW OF BLOOMING GROVE: WARREN G. HARDING IN HIS TIMES. By *Francis Russell*. (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1968. Pp. xvi, 691. \$12.50.)

It is no small achievement that Francis Russell has made Harding seem not only likable, but interesting as well—although not *very* interesting. Russell, already the author of eight books on subjects as diverse as Albrecht Dürer and Sacco and Vanzetti, writes for the general reader rather than for the specialist; nevertheless, historians will find this biography distinguished by a subtle understanding both of Harding and of his closest personal relationships. It presents the clearest explanation yet of that rather passive man's survival and sudden pre-eminence in the jungle of Ohio State politics. Russell is a master of the illustrative detail that seems to clarify an otherwise obscure action or personality; at times that talent seems to run wild, adding unnecessary trivia to this 691-page volume.

Russell makes a persuasive case for the importance of Harding's letters to his mistress, Carrie Phillips. Apparently this was one relationship in which his feelings ran deep, and he confided in her for about fifteen years. Direct quotations were suppressed by the Harding family, but Russell imparts the spirit of the words that passed between them.

The "shadow of Blooming Grove" was the legend of Negro ancestry that haunted the Harding family. Probably the tale was completely false, but it circulated long enough to convince some Harding neighbors in Blooming Grove, Ohio, and to leave most of the rest, including Warren Harding himself, wondering. Harding's response to the omnipresent "shadow," Russell asserts, "was to try to placate, expressing his inner doubt in an almost mindless conformity." Perhaps this was the reason, but mindless conformity seems to have been fairly common among Ohio politicians. Compared to his friend Jesse Smith, for example, Harding was a radical intellectual.

This biography is not the place to look for a definitive analysis of Harding's presidential administration nor of his role in the United States Senate. Russell has worked intensively in Ohio newspaper and manuscript archives, and he has interviewed available friends and relatives. He must have decided, however, that research in the papers of Harding's senatorial and cabinet colleagues was not worth the effort. Furthermore, scores of quotations and anecdotes that will fascinate

readers seem to have been included largely because they were too good to leave out, despite their doubtful authenticity. This could be too harsh a judgment, but the near absence of footnotes does not assuage doubts.

University of California, Los Angeles

STANLEY COBEN

HENRY A. WALLACE OF IOWA: THE AGRARIAN YEARS, 1910-1940. By Edward L. and Frederick H. Schapsmeier. (Ames: Iowa State University Press. 1968. Pp. xiii, 327. \$8.95.)

"This study is primarily an investigation of the origins and development of the political philosophy of Henry Agard Wallace." So begin the authors of this somewhat curious book. They appear to believe that Wallace was the foremost "New Deal Philosopher," and they summarize and attempt to analyze his several books as though they were worthy of the closest scrutiny. Their thesis is set forth in the following sentence: "Where Franklin D. Roosevelt seldom elaborated on his political philosophy, preferring to improvise as he went along, Wallace proceeded to spell out a well-defined ideological framework within which enduring reforms could be achieved." Yet their own evidence shows that Wallace ("the nation's greatest Secretary of Agriculture,") was often a compromiser, that he consistently saw the need to placate senior members of Congress, especially the southern Democratic committee chairmen, and that he went out of his way to be kind to the basically conservative American Farm Bureau Federation. In their uncritical approach to Wallace, they seem willing to dismiss his opportunism as "practical" and at the same time take his "philosophy" musings quite seriously. Wallace was a strange, complex man, and it is hard to see that the Schapsmeiers have made him understandable.

This book is the product of diligent research in scattered archives. Although Wallace's own papers were not available, the authors found much of his correspondence in the National Archives and that of the recipients in other manuscript collections. They interviewed or corresponded with Wallace and many of his associates and made good use of the rapidly growing body of oral history.

It would be pleasant to be able to report that this book adds much to our knowledge. It is at its best in summing up what has already been made known by such specialists as Fite, Kirkendall, and Saloutos. It is at its worst when it seeks to endow its hero with anything like a coherent "philosophy of reform." Used with care, as an outline of the background and career of Wallace down to his election as Vice-President, this book will find its place on our shelves.

University of Washington

ROBERT E. BURKE

THE DECLINE OF SOCIALISM IN AMERICA, 1912-1925. By James Weinstein. (New York: Monthly Review Press. 1967. Pp. xi, 367. \$10.00.)

BIG BILL HAYWOOD AND THE RADICAL UNION MOVEMENT. By Joseph R. Conlin. [Men and Movements.] ([Syracuse, N. Y.:] Syracuse University Press. 1969. Pp. xii, 244. \$6.95.)

THE current revival of radicalism has led some younger historians to investigate the American past with an eye to uncovering an indigenous and effective radical tradition. Their search, as revealed in the work of Messrs. Weinstein and Conlin, indicates both the limitations of American radicalism and the perils inherent in writing about it.

Weinstein's thesis is blunt and direct. He asserts that before and during World War I a "real" socialist movement existed, one that demonstrated popular appeal, developed national political strength, and encompassed factions and personalities as diverse as those contained in the two major parties. Weinstein's socialists, like those described by David Shannon but unlike Daniel Bell's socialist ideal types, were adept politicians. Weinstein's Socialist party, like Shannon's but unlike that portrayed by Ira Kipnis, successfully harmonized internal differences and did not decline precipitously after a Left-Right division in 1912. Weinstein demonstrates more convincingly than Shannon that the Socialist party remained a significant electoral force in the years 1912-1918, and indeed that it was precisely then that the party consolidated its strength.

Why, then, did the Socialist party decline until, in the author's words, "there is no surviving popular knowledge of what was once a broadly based, deeply rooted, self-conscious movement for socialism"? Weinstein's answer is simple and expected: wartime repression and factionalism flowing from the war and the Bolshevik revolution ruined American socialism. This answer is neither satisfying nor satisfactory. In analyzing the response of American socialism to the European conflict, Weinstein exaggerates the extent of domestic antiwar sentiment, neglects its ethnic dimension, and thus renders Victor Berger's determined opposition to American intervention inexplicable. He has little to add to Shannon's and Theodore Draper's earlier versions of the 1919 split in the Socialist party and the ensuing clash between socialists and Communists. As Weinstein describes the dismal pattern of blindly sectarian third-party politics from 1919 to 1925, one wonders why, if American socialism had been so deeply rooted before the war and grew in strength during it, it declined so grievously afterward. Perhaps the standard interpretations explaining the failure of American socialism, summarized so succinctly by Shannon, still hold. Certainly Weinstein does little to alter fundamentally our understanding of socialism's decline.

Conlin's book reflects the perils in writing about American radicalism. Choosing to probe the relationship between William D. Haywood, the IWW, and socialism, he studies a man who left behind no collection of papers and an organization whose records the federal government incinerated in 1923. Thus we have a book that scarcely transcends the analysis and narrative of Haywood's autobiography written in 1928. Where Conlin attempts fresh analysis, he misses the mark, as, for example, in his treatment of the relationship between the IWW, politics, and the Socialist party. His assertion that the Socialist party's split with its IWW element in 1912 destroyed socialism collapses when juxtaposed against Weinstein's overwhelming evidence to the contrary.

Conlin does, nevertheless, illuminate the difficulties besetting the American radical and reinforce Weinstein's interpretation of the catastrophic impact of World War I and of the Bolshevik revolution on American radicalism. The IWW never recovered from wartime repression, and Haywood died in Soviet Russia, an unhappy exile in an alien land, in 1928.

This book illustrates other faults all too common in writing the history of radicalism. I counted scores of mistakes, either about Haywood personally or the events associated with his life. Conlin confuses nearly every incident and issue involved in the strike of 1903-1904 in Cripple Creek, Colorado. The ubiquity of these minor (some major) factual mistakes simply renders the book an untrustworthy guide for the reader unfamiliar with the details of radicalism in America. Syracuse University Press has done little to enhance the book's value: quotations

that are opened but never closed or the reverse are merely the most obvious signs of sloppy production. About this book, a reviewer must warn the reader to beware.

About American radicalism, one can only conclude that the past has been unsuccessful, the present is parlous, and the future seems dubious.

University of Warwick, England

MELVYN DUBOFSKY

UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE: THE AMERICAN EXPERIENCE, 1915-1935. By *Daniel Nelson*. (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 305. \$10.00.)

ALTHOUGH historians have dealt with various aspects of the American quest for social insurance, Nelson is the first to treat comprehensively the convolutions of the movement from late in the Progressive era through 1935. His diligent search for primary sources and his temperate judgments result in a competent account.

A central thesis of Nelson's work is that the American experience differed from the European. Reformers abroad, he says, tended to regard unemployment insurance as a means of providing relief benefits. Americans, especially before 1929, were more optimistic, seeing in social insurance a way to stabilize the economy and prevent layoffs in the first place. Americans thus favored plans that made it profitable for individual employers to avoid discharging workers. Nelson perhaps overstates his case, for, as he shows, the Ohio and New York laws were closer to European models, and the federal program of 1935 was eclectic. Indeed, Nelson himself seems to agree that American laws after 1932 were primarily responses to the depression rather than adaptations of earlier American thought. Still, his effort at comparative history is welcome, and his thesis tends to reinforce interpretations of other historians who have stressed the centrality of business thought and institutions in American culture.

Nelson's judgments will interest scholars dealing with other aspects of the period. He confirms the negative image of businessmen in the 1930's, which was popularized by Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., and James M. Burns; he follows Irving Bernstein and others in castigating AFL leaders in the 1920's; he adds detail to the oft-noted internal dissension among reformers; and his careful descriptions of the legislative process on the state level stress the potent role of labor organizations in the 1930's. His portrait of Hoover is particularly unflattering, as is his view of the politics of the 1920's.

Nelson's style is sometimes heavy, and he might have discarded some of his quotations (947 notes adorn 221 pages of text). His account will, however, repay careful readers.

Indiana University

JAMES T. PATTERSON

LUTHERANS AND ROMAN CATHOLICISM. THE CHANGING CONFLICT: 1917-1963. By *Myron A. Marty*. (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press. 1968. Pp. xi, 245. \$6.95.)

CLEARLY, Professor Marty intends that a spirit of ecumenism should inform his study of Lutheran attitudes toward Roman Catholicism, pointing out that historical perspective can help clear the air of old abstract clichés that have frustrated prior attempts at dialogue. To achieve this goal, the author presents an internal study of the anti-Catholic views of leading figures in the Missouri Synod of the

Lutheran Church during the period from 1917 to 1963. These opinions range from the most unreconstructed Reformation view of the pope as the antichrist to the liberal, inquiring attitude of such scholars as Martin E. Marty and Jaroslav Pelikan. The motives behind this opinion also span a spectrum from mere rhetoric to profound theological concern over the importance of Scripture, justification by faith, and Mariology.

Unfortunately, the author's good intentions do not redeem the book from numerous scholarly defects. The suggestion that the case study of a group described by the author himself as "historically . . . particularistic and exclusive," even isolated, can give one insights into anti-Catholicism in America seems rather reckless. This narrow focus is also apparent in Marty's failure either to distinguish between different levels of opinion or to give some idea of how influential these views really were among Lutherans in general. Such a concentration makes generalization an especially risky task and severely limits the relevance of this book for an understanding of modern religious history. Surely the works of men such as Herbert W. Schneider, Will Herberg, Robert M. Miller, and Paul A. Carter could have added perspective.

These flaws are followed by others that relate to the major thesis of the book. Although the author is studying Lutheran opinion over a forty-six-year period, he makes no attempt to describe the historical evolution of these opinions, jumping from comments of 1920 to those of 1950 within the same paragraph. Yet one of the fundamental points of the book is that there has been a gradual movement by Lutherans toward greater accommodation with Roman Catholicism. It is regrettable that the author fails to document such a movement; his own evidence makes clear that, despite an acceptance after Vatican II that Roman Catholicism was changing, the theological issues dividing Lutherans and Catholics remained as unresolved as ever by 1963.

Seattle University

GEORGE Q. FLYNN

COUNTRY MUSIC U.S.A.: A FIFTY-YEAR HISTORY. By *Bill C. Malone*.

[Publications of the American Folklore Society, Memoir Series, Volume LIV.]

(Austin: University of Texas Press for the Society. 1968. Pp. xii, 422. \$7.50.)

IN tracing the development of commercial country music since the 1920's, Malone has produced a significant volume of social history. Dealing only with those who made or tried to make money from their music, he carefully relates these efforts to the folk origins of the materials. Before the music business finally settled on "country" music as an appropriate rubric, the music was described variously as mountain, hillbilly, cowboy, western, and honky-tonk. The author contends that these different elements all stem from a rural background and are justifiably subsumed under the country label. This music emanates from the experiences of Anglo-Celtic farm folk and is expressed in a direct, sentimental (often maudlin) manner. Much of its commercial success has resulted from the fact that, when farmers migrated to cities, they maintained their rustic musical tastes. One of this book's greatest strengths is that it demonstrates effectively how country music expresses the concerns and meets the needs of its wide audience. Moreover, Malone adroitly portrays the relationship of the rise of country music to national economic and social conditions. For instance, the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers paid little attention to rustic music. Then, when the National Association of Broadcasters banned ASCAP compositions in 1941, country music

was available to fill the gap. With consequent radio publicity and the spread of country music by the GI's of World War II, the genre became a big business.

Much of this study inevitably deals with the personalities who popularized country music: the Carter family, Gene Autry, Bob Wills, Ernest Tubb, Jimmie Rodgers, Roy Acuff, Hank Williams, Flatt and Scruggs, and others. Malone draws these biographical sketches expertly. He includes many names known only to the true devotees, but the text never degenerates into a catalogue of performers and compositions. The relation of personalities and songs to the volume's major ideas is always clear. Since the author's approach stems largely from folklore, his analysis is almost exclusively textual. The closest he comes to musical analysis is the characterization of vocal style. There is little on form, rhythm, melody, or harmony. Malone deserves credit for his wide research into a variety of sources, including phonograph records and catalogues. He has presented his material interestingly and with considerable literary skill.

Iowa State University

WALTER RUNDELL, JR.

THE FISCAL REVOLUTION IN AMERICA. By *Herbert Stein*. [The Graduate School of Business, University of Chicago. Third Series, Studies in Business and Society.] (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1969. Pp. xiv, 526. \$10.00.)

HERBERT Stein, a practicing economist who spent more than a decade as research director for the Council for Economic Development, is presently a member of the President's Council of Economic Advisors. In this, his first major book, he traces the evolution of changing government fiscal policies from Hoover to Johnson. His volume provides an impressive account of the fiscal revolution that saw dogmas of a balanced budget give way to acceptance of federal responsibilities for fiscal management through spending and taxing. Stein describes men, problems, and events that produced this significant transformation in thought and action. His study is based on a wide range of published and unpublished primary and secondary sources, including government documents, manuscripts, and newspapers and magazines.

The organization of this work is primarily chronological. After a brief survey of Hoover's tax program, Stein devotes six chapters to the New Deal era. These constitute one of the clearest and most incisive available discussions of Roosevelt's financial policies. The author demonstrates rather decisively that Keynes had very little influence in turning the Roosevelt administration toward a greater reliance on deficit spending, but that a variety of other pressures were predisposing Washington officials in this direction. Although historians have generally glossed over the significance of World War II for postwar domestic policies in the United States, Stein aptly emphasizes its importance. The conflict taught a generation of Keynes-inspired economists many financial lessons that they eagerly applied as, for the first time, they secured policy-making roles near the seats of political power. Indeed, the war created a consensus on necessary government fiscal and monetary policies that remained remarkably stable during the next two decades. The latter half of the book concerns itself with a detailed description of conflicts and compromises that resulted in the elaboration of this consensus under Truman, Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson. Whether a chief executive was extraordinarily astute like Kennedy or painfully passive and evasive like Eisenhower, the bureaucrats in their official circles fashioned financial policies that reflected continuity and agreement.

This volume will quickly take its place as one of the best available works about

the development of federal financial policies between the Great Depression and the Great Society. To be sure, its style does not always allow for easy reading, and at times the author tends to neglect the human element in policy formulation. But few books are without some shortcomings, and the virtues of this one far outweigh its weaknesses. Characterized by breadth as well as depth, this distinguished volume should be welcomed as a major contribution to the history of government finance in the United States during the twentieth century.

University of New Mexico

GERALD D. NASH

THE DISTORTED IMAGE: CHANGING CONCEPTIONS OF THE AMERICAN CHARACTER SINCE TURNER. By *Thomas L. Hartshorne*. [A book from the Cleveland State University.] (Cleveland: Press of Case Western Reserve University. 1968. Pp. xiv, 226. \$6.95.)

THIS precise and clearly written discussion of a complex subject treats changing conceptions of the American character since Turner as a "symptom of cultural self-consciousness," provoked by various crises of confrontation. The chief value of the work is its emphasis on the difficulties of generalizing about the national character as a theoretical problem while at the same time providing illuminating specific historical contexts for the particular writers that he studies. Its major theme is that, with the exception of Herbert Croly, an anti-industrial, antiurban polemic was persistently expressed by most commentators until the 1950's.

Mr. Hartshorne notes the widespread misunderstanding of *The Lonely Crowd*, though he fails himself to emphasize the deliberate restriction of its findings to the urban upper middle class. In criticizing Louis Hartz for failing to explain why feudalism did not develop in America, he forgets that Hartz was concerned to discuss consequences rather than causes. Perhaps his most original point is his criticism of culture-and-personality social scientists for restating "Turnerian and Jeffersonian conclusions in psychiatric language," while looking at America through fears acquired in Germany.

Justifiably skeptical of generalizations about national character, the author spells out the difficulties very convincingly. As Erik H. Erikson has remarked, "You write about a process of which you are a more or less willing, but always pleasurably harassed, part, and your style soon runs away with you in the high gear of dithyrambic or outraged expression." Tocqueville, I think, wisely talked about "customs" (habits, opinions, usages, beliefs) instead of "character." Erikson has suggested that any national "character" is made out of certain "opposite potentialities" (such as "migratory and sedentary, individualistic and standardized, competitive and co-operative"), which have been elevated to a tentative synthesis. Hartshorne complains of others who stress "complementary opposites" on the ground that they "have their cake and eat it too," making the national character "immune to criticism from all directions." This is a nice point, but Erikson's suggestion is neutral in its formulation, containing no apology within it. Still, we could not know which polarities were relevant or whether any synthesis was representative without having at hand a large and active school of historians familiar enough with psychoanalytic thinking to use it critically, blessed with the sort of evidence usually found in the clinician's office, and having no social ax to grind. It is about as likely as the reappearance of another Tocqueville.

Cornell University

CUSHING STROUT

CRISIS IN AGRICULTURE: THE AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ADMINISTRATION AND THE NEW DEAL, 1933. By *Van L. Perkins*. [University of California Publications in History, Volume LXXXI.] (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1969. Pp. vii, 245. \$6.00.)

It is refreshing to read a book, dealing with important public policy, that concentrates on describing and explaining what actually happened rather than speculating on what might or should have been done. Professor Perkins has approached his history of the first year of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration in this sound and sensible way. *Crisis in Agriculture* is a clear, brief, and precise account of why agriculture needed federal aid in 1933, of the interests and politics responsible for passing the farm relief law, and of the way in which the programs actually worked during the first year of operation. Placing the AAA in the context of its time, the author explains why the program's administrators made the decisions they did. Better than any other writer on New Deal agriculture, Perkins tells how the Roosevelt administration faced only limited alternatives in dealing with the farm problem and explains that, within the policies acceptable to the American people, production control and benefit payments were superior to other farm relief schemes. He answers the later criticism that the AAA chiefly helped the "wealthy" farmers and did not reach the chronic poor with the observation, based on statistics and common sense, that the vast majority of farmers were poor in 1933. Nearly every producer needed help. The law, as the President said, was an experiment that would, he hoped, assist the majority of farmers in recovering from their sorry economic plight. Moreover, the farm relief bill was not designed as a measure to achieve full social salvation; it was only a part of the larger recovery effort.

After thorough and extensive research in the primary as well as the secondary sources, and careful analysis—ever mindful that he is writing about 1933 and not 1969—Perkins concludes that, with some exceptions, the AAA was a moderate success. Its importance went far beyond simply helping farmers, however. This New Deal agency represented one of the most significant expansions of federal power and one of the most ambitious attempts at economic planning in American peacetime history; it reflected widespread rejection of *laissez faire*. Since *Crisis in Agriculture* is by far the best book so far written on the early history of the AAA, it will necessarily become the beginning point for those interested in further study of the agency. Finally, it is a model study for those wishing to write the history of other New Deal programs.

University of Oklahoma

GILBERT C. FITE

ROOSEVELT AND WORLD WAR II. By *Robert A. Divine*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1969. Pp. x, 107. \$5.95.)

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS. Volume I, JANUARY 1933–FEBRUARY 1934; Volume II, MARCH 1934–AUGUST 1935; Volume III, SEPTEMBER 1935–JANUARY 1937. Edited by *Edgar B. Nixon*. [Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York.] (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1969. Pp. xiii, 664; ix, 637; ix, 638. 12.50 each, \$32.50 the set.)

ROBERT A. Divine's lectures in the Albert Shaw series at Johns Hopkins University provide an excellent introduction both to Roosevelt's diplomacy and to the literature on the subject. Ingeniously organized into chapters dealing with Roosevelt the isola-

tionist, the interventionist, the realist, and the pragmatist, the lectures show the various sides of the man, and come down firmly on what, at least to me, seems the right one: Roosevelt the decent human being who, sometimes with undue attention to political opponents, sought to lead the country against the evil international forces of his time. Divine shows how the President hated war, how he nonetheless undertook to involve the country, how he was not a true Wilsonian and championed "the four policemen" rather than a powerful international organization, and how his pragmatism sometimes "proved to be his undoing" as in the case of Poland at Yalta. Divine contends that Roosevelt had little concern for Poland and that he delayed and evaded the problem before making a veiled surrender at Yalta; when his successor, Truman, decided to breathe life into the Polish agreement, the cold war ensued. This point seems questionable, for the Western Allies were without power in Eastern Europe, as Roosevelt so well understood during the Yalta sessions. The cold war arose out of Russian intransigence rather than out of misunderstanding. This is a relatively small point, however, and the author rather backs off from it after he makes it. This is a fine little volume and an admirable set of lectures.

The literature on Roosevelt is increasing these days; in addition to the Divine book, publication of Roosevelt's correspondence on foreign affairs has begun. These first three volumes of what will doubtless be a massive edition of the Roosevelt papers on foreign affairs presently deposited in the library at Hyde Park contain only about half of the Hyde Park materials available for the years 1933-1937. What a correspondence the late President carried on! If succeeding volumes are as interesting and important as these, the entire series will prove indispensable for scholars of twentieth-century American history.

The series begins auspiciously because most of us have been led to believe that the first Roosevelt administration was uninteresting in terms of foreign affairs. The present documents prove it fascinating. The President asked ambassadors to leading countries in Europe and elsewhere to send him personal reports, and these reports are the best documents in the collection. Some of the envoys were almost incredibly naïve, as is shown in the reports from Breckinridge Long in Rome. In June 1933 Long reported to the President that "The Fascisti in their black shirts are apparent in every community. They are dapper and well dressed and stand up straight and lend an atmosphere of individuality and importance to their surroundings." In September 1935 Long was remarking, in regard to the imminent Ethiopian campaign, that "The efficiency of the [Italian] army has been increased enormously till it is not recognizable as the same military organization, and the whole civil and military elements of the population are moving as pieces of a single organism, spurred on by the thought that failure means utter collapse and that they must succeed." Roosevelt knew that these reports were unreliable, for he wrote Louis M. Howe in October 1935 that: "Long has been hypnotized by Mussolini." Long remained in his post until he became ill, at which time the President carefully praised "Dear Breck." On the other hand, there were also reports from William E. Dodd in Berlin. For some time now scholars have been exploiting the Dodd correspondence, but it continues to be rewarding. Dodd could say childish things about his mentor in Washington, as he did in August 1936: "Your re-election on a safe margin is about the most important thing in the world. . . ." And, while Dodd's attention sometimes wandered to trivialities and irrelevant historical parallels, his sensitivity to the criminal nature of the Nazi state was extraordinary. The letters from Roosevelt's ambassadors also include the effusions of William C. Bullitt, first from Moscow, later from Paris; Bullitt's his-

torical reputation surely must continue its present descent until it hits rock bottom.

This flow of correspondence, ambassadorial and other, sets out clearly the information and policies of the American government during a seedtime of disaster. Cordell Hull writes long, dull missives, with the exception of his wrathful cable about Raymond Moley, which was sent from the London Economic Conference in 1933. Undersecretaries William Phillips and Sumner Welles make polite inquiries. Heads of state and visiting dignitaries correspond about their problems and hopes. Letters appear from relatives, confidants, well-wishers, and, sometimes, enemies. College presidents make proposals. The President quips to his news conferences, and he also makes careful speeches; these volumes contain selections from both. The presidential commentaries, oral and written, are those of a typically busy executive. Roosevelt's pleas and answers, especially in his correspondence, reflect a similar acceleration in the problems of perhaps tens of thousands of people everywhere in the fast-paced, epistolary twentieth century. What makes Roosevelt's correspondence unique, however, is the magnitude of the issues, the results of which sometimes border on catastrophe.

Edgar B. Nixon's editing is flawless. He wisely has not sought to write a narrative bridging the correspondence; he simply identifies names and issues in footnotes at the ends of letters. It may well be, and I have taken this position, that too much editing is going on at the present time, but the Roosevelt correspondence is worth reading. For the series so happily inaugurated by these three volumes, both the editor and Harvard University Press deserve congratulation.

Indiana University

ROBERT H. FERRELL

AMERICAN APPEASEMENT: UNITED STATES FOREIGN POLICY AND GERMANY, 1933-1938. By *Arnold A. Offner*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 1969. Pp. ix, 328. \$10.00.)

PROFESSOR Offner speculates that, had the New Deal diplomats been willing to take justifiable risks, an internal German revolution or an antifascist coalition might have contained the Nazi menace short of total war. While Offner is aware of the psychological and military handicaps to effective American action in the 1930's, he criticizes President Roosevelt for not defying the anticommithment fixation of his day by implementing some of the bold plans that sprang from his brisk mind. Offner's heroes are Ambassador Dodd at Berlin and Minister Messersmith in Vienna, but, in all fairness to FDR, it should be pointed out that neither of these prescient men, with ringside seats at the font of aggression, ever came up with a feasible plan for a thrust from Washington that would not have outrun the possibilities of American politics.

The author is, nonetheless, justified in holding the Roosevelt administration responsible for a series of critical blunders during the tortuous diplomatic path that led to appeasement at Munich. It refused to bargain "down to the wire" for a more flexible arms embargo that would have permitted a measure of cooperation with collective security efforts; it praised the 1935 Anglo-German Naval Treaty that wrecked all hope of a European concert against Nazidom; and it left the curbing of Mussolini up to the League Powers while pursuing policies that rendered nugatory effective sanctions that might have halted the rape of Ethiopia. In addition, Washington's assessment of the significance of a Franco victory in Spain was marked by "incredible political blindness."

Offner holds that FDR's behavior during the Munich crisis was scarcely better

than Chamberlain's. While, in contrast to his ambassadors at London, Paris, and Berlin, the President originally doubted the wisdom of the conference, he, no more than Chamberlain or Daladier, grasped the elementary fact that much more than the fate of Czechoslovakia was at stake in that dreary fall of 1938. The evidence here presented reveals that Washington was also willing to pay almost any price to avert general war.

Despite Offner's impressive mastery of the archival and printed memorabilia of the 1930's, he has unearthed few surprises. The seriatim diplomatic crises that preceded Munich are handled well, judgments of the men involved are judicious, and the author displays a sure grasp of European as well as American internal developments. The greatest merit of this cogently argued monograph lies in its well-ordered appraisal of the factors that destroyed the post-Versailles rapprochement between Washington and Berlin. Offner's meticulous research will enhance his own professional reputation; his labors will not add luster to the record of Roosevelt's statesmanship.

State University of New York, Buffalo

SELIG ADLER

DEMOCRAT AND DIPLOMAT: THE LIFE OF WILLIAM E. DODD. By Robert Dallek. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 415. \$8.50.)

THE troubled diplomatic career of William E. Dodd, liberal historian of the American South who left the University of Chicago to serve as Franklin Roosevelt's ambassador to Nazi Germany, has always seemed to be a record of failure—to Dodd himself, to his contemporaries, and to later historians of American foreign policy. He was, at the outset, "ambassador by default," the man to whom the Berlin embassy was offered when FDR simply ran out of candidates. During his term as ambassador from July 1933 to December 1937, Dodd found himself totally unable to influence the course of events in Germany; he became anathema to the professional foreign service, and, to his bitter disappointment, he was never able to move Roosevelt from isolationism to international action. He retired a broken, despondent man. The judgment of his fellow historians has been severe: the standard appraisals of Dodd maintain that the way he conducted his office, especially his virtual withdrawal from all official contacts with Nazism, deprived the State Department of vital information; also, his Jeffersonian value system rendered him totally incapable of coping with the brutal world of Adolf Hitler. Franklin Ford, though sympathetic to Dodd as a man, judged him "ineffectual as a diplomat" and concluded that his "despondency practically incapacitated him as a diplomatic representative."

The purpose of Robert Dallek's full-length study of Dodd is to challenge that interpretation. Using materials not available to earlier writers, Dallek makes a convincing case that Dodd's reporting was more perceptive and sophisticated than his critics have realized, that his understanding of the German problem was at least equal to that of any Western diplomat in Berlin, and that much of his difficulty arose from the fact that his State Department superiors in Washington, long turned off by the ambassador's hostility to the professional foreign service, refused to take him seriously. What is more important, Dallek argues, historical emphasis in the pre-Munich period of American foreign policy ought to be placed not on the shortcomings of Dodd but rather upon the essential sterility of Roosevelt's European policy. Dallek contends, moreover, that Dodd's Jeffersonianism and his commitment to individualism and human rights did not simply impede his understanding of the twentieth

century; they provided inner strength for him and for others of his generation when they had to confront the unspeakable realities of Hitler's totalitarianism.

While Dallek focuses on the ambassadorial years, his book also provides an informed account of Dodd's long involvement on the periphery of Democratic politics as well as on his professional career as one of the founders of the "new history" that Turner, Beard, and Parrington brought to prominence in the first decades of the century. Dodd, to be sure, was a marginal figure in American politics, and his doctrinaire liberalism produced predictable responses. Dallek's narrative, however, provides considerably more than a passing footnote for those interested in the plight of the Wilsonians in the post-Versailles era. Similarly, he presents a perceptive critique of the "new history" that Dodd espoused and, through his examination of Dodd's historical writings, clearly analyzes both the strengths and manifest weaknesses of that school of historical thought.

Democrat and Diplomat is no apology for Dodd. Dallek does not minimize his weaknesses; nor does he claim that all previous judgments are to be completely ignored. But this understanding biography most certainly modifies the stereotype of Dodd as an unmitigated failure in the art of diplomacy. It will have its greatest value if it influences other historians to re-examine not simply the failures of Roosevelt's ambassadors but, in addition, the deficiencies in FDR's approach to international affairs during the years from 1933 to Munich.

Princeton University

RICHARD D. CHALLENGER

PAPER WALLS: AMERICA AND THE REFUGEE CRISIS 1938-1941. By David S. Wyman. ([Amherst:] University of Massachusetts Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 306. \$6.00.)

DURING the years encompassed by this volume, its author writes, the Nazi policy toward Jews and other "undesirables" was one of forced emigration, not extermination. Professor Wyman measures the extent to which other nations, and the United States in particular, took advantage of this time to rescue the hapless victims of Hitler's persecution; he concludes that it was "a vast lost chance." At an intergovernmental conference held at Évian-les-Bains in France during July 1938, one nation after another excused its inability to accept any large number of homeless persons; the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees that resulted was thus handicapped from the beginning. Even though approximately 150,000 refugees came to America between early 1938 and mid-1941, "viewed in relation to capacity, the English, Dutch, French, and others in western Europe were far more generous than the United States." In the land sometimes symbolized by the Statue of Liberty, anti-immigrant elements successfully marshaled sentiments generated by widespread unemployment, nativistic nationalism, and anti-Semitism, and the national origins quota system held firm. Indeed, in Congress during these years the main thrust was toward further restriction of immigration. Aware of the adverse current, those favoring immigration liberalization risked only one major legislative effort, the Wagner-Rogers bill of 1939, which would have admitted twenty thousand child refugees from Germany in addition to the quota limits. The bill never reached the floor of either house. Refugee relief projects developed by sympathetic figures within the administration were almost invariably strangled by the State Department, which, especially after early 1940, seemed obsessed with inflated fears of fifth-column infiltration. President Roosevelt was sympathetic toward the victims of the Nazis and stretched a few

administrative points on their behalf, but generally he left refugee policy to the disposition of a hostile Congress and the State Department. Yet, as the author points out, neither Roosevelt, the State Department, nor Congress can be blamed entirely for what happened. "Viewed within the context of its times, United States refugee policy from 1938 to the end of 1941 was essentially what the American people wanted." In December 1938 only 8.7 per cent of the respondents to a Roper poll favored entry of a larger number of European refugees than the quota law allowed; fully 83 per cent were flatly opposed.

This book tells a dismal story. While it is clear where the author's sympathies lie, he tells the story with restraint; if anything, his approach and writing style underplay the pathos involved. Others have written about and dramatized the subject passionately; Wyman has given us a scholarly description and analysis of the first act of the tragedy, which he promises to carry on through the war and postwar years.

Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey

J. JOSEPH HUTHMACHER

SECOND CHANCE: THE TRIUMPH OF INTERNATIONALISM IN AMERICA DURING WORLD WAR II. By *Robert A. Divine*. (New York: Atheneum, 1967. Pp. ix, 371. \$8.50.)

WOODROW Wilson's dream of American participation in the League of Nations collapsed in 1920 in an atmosphere of disillusionment, suspicion, and resurgent nationalism. But a number of men who shared his vision, a group that included Raymond Fosdick, Hamilton Holt, James T. Shotwell, and Clark Eichelberger, helped to keep the dream alive in the years between the wars. It is the story of these efforts and of what came afterward, when World War II presented internationalists with "a second chance," that Professor Robert A. Divine relates in his provocative study.

The author has a brilliant knack for sorting out the pedigrees of various associations, leagues, committees, and councils that shifted and combined or reorganized over a period of years as League of Nations groups furnished cadres for committees to aid the Allies, commissions to study the bases of a durable peace, or agencies hoping to promote world organization. His exhaustive bibliography teems with material, often ephemeral and widely scattered, that testifies to the energy and dedication of the small internationalist groups. Unfortunately, as the author points out, they often succeeded in reaching the wealthy and educated while missing the greater part of the population that did not read their literature or listen to their lectures.

The fight for a postwar world organization came alive after the North African invasion when members of these early groups helped spark discussions of a new league that must not fail. The author deals with plans for regionalism, world federation, and Anglo-American alliances, while giving his main attention to the spirited battle to establish the United Nations organization. With lively pen pictures he makes us sympathize with such men as Undersecretary of State Sumner Welles, Vice-President Henry A. Wallace, Wendell Willkie (the 1940 Republican presidential candidate), John Foster Dulles (foreign relations adviser to Governor Thomas E. Dewey, Republican candidate for President in 1944), Representative J. William Fulbright, and four senators, Ball, Burton, Hatch, and Hill, who, by speaking tours, best-selling books, or dogged debates in Congress, helped focus public attention on the main issue.

Through all the resolutions and debates, the author reminds the reader of the administration's firm intent both to prevent United Nations membership from becoming a campaign issue in 1944 and to hold fast to bipartisan Senate support. He gives high marks to Secretary of State Cordell Hull for working closely with Dulles during the Dumbarton Oaks deliberations and for his careful cooperation with Tom Connally, Chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and Arthur Vandenberg, key Republican member of the same committee. Divine suggests that Connally's work in steering the United Nations Charter through the Senate is probably underestimated, while Vandenberg's, thanks to a diary that gave full play to his contribution, may have been overvalued. Edward R. Stettinius, Hull's successor, is rated "weak" as chief of the State Department but strong as a salesman—a prime virtue in winning ratification of the Charter of the United Nations. President Truman, a member of the original group of senators supporting the Ball resolution, made clear his enthusiasm for world organization shortly after he succeeded Roosevelt. His appeal to Stalin at a critical moment and his assurances to doubtful members of the Senate also helped contribute to the almost unanimous 89-2 vote on the Charter.

Always present in the debate was the reminder, stressed repeatedly in the public relations campaigns of the dedicated League of Nations supporters, that US entry into the League in 1920 might have prevented World War II. It was a doubtful argument, but few wanted to put it to another test.

Arlington, Virginia

FORREST C. POGUE

REBELS AGAINST WAR: THE AMERICAN PEACE MOVEMENT, 1941-1960.

By *Lawrence S. Wittner*. [Contemporary American History Series.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1969. Pp. xi, 339. \$10.00.)

LAWRENCE Wittner has made a valuable contribution to American history. In this brief account he has done much to correct America's condition of historical amnesia regarding its policies of war, racism, and oppression. Wittner's study is among the first published works to treat seriously, and with rare scholarship and sensitivity, the peace movement and the issue of nonviolent alternatives to oppression since Merle Curti's *Peace or War: The American Struggle*, published over thirty years ago.

Wittner made extensive use of the archival material in the Swarthmore College Peace Collection. He has carefully analyzed the principles and methods, successes and failures of the active peace organizations in America, and he has also explored the personal papers of several of the leaders of the peace and nonviolence movements. His bibliography provides an excellent compilation of monographs and articles.

Wittner focuses on the peace movement within the context of general public opinion during World War II, the Korean War, and the "Loyalty-Security Mania" of the 1950's when pacifism in America was at its nadir and was generally associated with treason. Public opinion during this period is revealed in a stark light by Wittner, who makes it clear in vigorous terms that Americans preferred to go to war for the rights of Jews in Europe rather than to grant them asylum in America; less than 8 per cent of Americans polled wanted Jewish refugees to be admitted into the United States. Similarly, only 4.5 per cent of Americans polled in 1945 opposed the use of the atomic bomb against Japan while programs for mass slaughter and compulsory sterilization of the Japanese "enjoyed a particular vogue."

Peace research in history is a new field of concern, and Wittner's book provides an encouraging beginning. He has raised most of the questions future research may an-

swer: What is the role of organized labor in the movements for peace and social justice? In the quest for human rights, what is the association between America's race relations and its international relations? What of peace in a world hardened by mass extermination in which the media continually dehumanizes the enemy?

Wittner concludes on an optimistic note. He believes the peace movement has finally combined its moral influence with political relevance and the strength at least of numbers. After the hydrogen bomb explosions of 1957 the peace movement gained new adherents as more people recognized that "mankind had to be brought back from the rim of the abyss." By 1960 the silent student generation was replaced by the more resonant anger of the contemporary student generation, and by a black population no longer willing to accept indignity and oppression. What Wittner writes of the civil rights movement in the South is true also of his own book: it marks "the end of an uncritical celebration of Americanism."

John Jay College of Criminal Justice

BLANCHE WIESEN COOK

THE JESUITS' ESTATES QUESTION, 1760-1888: A STUDY OF THE BACKGROUND FOR THE AGITATION OF 1889. By *Roy C. Dalton*. [Canadian Studies in History and Government, Number 11.] ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1968. Pp. ix, 201. \$5.50.)

EVERY student of late Victorian Canada is aware that the settlement of the Jesuits' estates question in 1888 significantly exacerbated religious and cultural animosities. The payment of compensation to the Roman Catholic Church in Quebec, and the invitation to the Pope to divide the money between the hierarchy and the Society of Jesus, was the occasion for an explosion of outrage from Ontario. But, until the publication of this study, only the most general information was readily available on the origin and development of the question. By filling in the details concerning the historical background, Professor Dalton has filled this lacuna.

The land in question, about 750,000 acres, was acquired by the Jesuits of New France through grant, gift, and purchase. Following the conquest of 1760, the suppression of the society by Rome in 1773, and the death of the last of the reverend fathers in Quebec in 1800, the land was claimed by the crown.

Curiously enough, until 1889 the status of the estates was not an important issue between Roman Catholics and Protestants. In the early part of the century, the land, since it was administered by the executive council, was one of those sources of revenue in Lower Canada that the popular assembly wanted to control. By 1832 the battle had been won by the assembly, and thereafter the income from the estates was applied to the cost of public education.

After Confederation, when the estates again became a matter of serious dispute, the struggle involved two factions within the Roman Catholic Church. On one side was the Jesuit order, reconstituted by Rome in 1814 and re-established in Montreal in 1842. Beginning in the 1870's, the Jesuits worked either for the return of the estates or for the payment of compensation, and in this campaign they had the support of a conservative and militantly ultramontane group of the secular clergy. Cardinal Taschereau of Quebec led an opposing force which, on the question of Church-state relations, for example, was somewhat more liberal than the ultramontane party. Both parties in the Church agreed that, at the very least, compensation ought to be paid. But the divisive question concerned who should receive it. Should the money be paid to the bishops for the use of the whole Church? Or should it go to the Jesuits for the support of *Collège*

Sainte-Marie in Montreal? Here was the real issue: Cardinal Taschereau saw the Jesuit college as a threat to the future of his own Laval University and therefore energetically opposed its progress.

Dalton has presented these intricate matters with admirable clarity and has described in detail the complexities of the ecclesiastical maneuvering that prompted Mercier's Jesuits' Estates Act of 1888. In retrospect, it is difficult to disagree with his main conclusion. Despite the outcry from Ontario and whatever the legal position might be, the Roman Catholic Church had a moral right to compensation for the loss of the estates. And, whatever a Protestant, or secular, conscience might feel about "papal interference in Canadian affairs," given the divisions within the Church, no one but the Pope could have arranged an acceptable settlement.

McMaster University

H. E. TURNER

THE CLERGY RESERVES OF UPPER CANADA: A CANADIAN MORTMAIN.

By *Alan Wilson*. [Canadian Studies in History and Government, Number 8.] ([Toronto:] University of Toronto Press. 1968. Pp. 280. \$7.50.)

THE "Clergy Reserves" provided for in the Constitutional Act of 1791 were a cause of almost ceaseless concern and contention until the final settlement by secularization in 1854. The struggle over their location, administration, and distribution to the church or churches absorbed so much energy and roused so much anger that it was counted among the significant causes of the rebellion of 1837.

Dr. Wilson calls this a "Canadian Mortmain," an attempt not to buttress church against state but to unite church with state against the rising forces of democracy, secularism, and dissent. The attempt was perhaps understandable, but it happened to be initiated at the moment when Britain's own Anglican clergy was about to succumb to the rising forces of radicalism. Wilson believes, moreover, that those who framed the religious clauses may have had doubts about their own policy. He offers some evidence that the ambiguity of the expression "Protestant Clergy" (Anglican only, Anglican and Presbyterian, or all Protestant denominations?) may have been a deliberate device of British statesmen to leave to the local government the determination of the nature of the religious endowment.

It would have been helpful if Wilson had paid even more attention to the development of opinion in Britain, since, as he shows, Dr. Strachan, the determined exponent of exclusive Anglicanism, depended heavily on support from Britain. Although he and his ally Henry Phillpotts, bishop of Exeter, were opposed to Tractarianism, did this strong antiseccular movement of the 1830's and later encourage them in their defense of the endowment?

On the Canadian developments, Wilson's extensive researches in a very wide variety of public and private papers have enabled him to provide much new information on the social and economic importance of the Reserves and on the decidedly mixed motives of some of their critics.

Every student of the period will welcome this long-needed and thorough examination of a difficult and important subject, but one criticism must be made. Only occasionally in the development of the work does the author give the impression that he has completely mastered his material. At times he appears the victim of his own theme, helpless in the dead hand of his exhaustive notes. There are apparently needless repetition, a failure in coherent logical narrative, as well as too frequent lapses into clichés and ambiguities. These are unfortunate blemishes in an important work. More attention

to structure and style and a ruthless pruning of the script would have produced a book not only scholarly but readable.

University of Saskatchewan

HILDA M. NEATBY

HENRI BOURASSA AND FRENCH-CANADIAN NATIONALISM: OPPOSITION TO EMPIRE. By *Casey Murrow*. (Montreal: Harvest House. 1968. Pp. 143. Cloth \$5.00, paper \$2.50.)

THIS slim volume is a study of the first and more active half of Bourassa's career; it deals with his opposition to Canadian participation in the South African War, to Canadian contributions to the Royal Navy, and to conscription in the First World War. A prize-winning Senior thesis at Yale, it is an able piece of undergraduate work that is based on manuscript materials as well as a wide range of secondary sources. But, unfortunately, it leaves much to be desired as an interpretation of the thought and motives of one of the most significant Canadian, as well as French-Canadian, nationalists.

Henri Bourassa was an exceedingly complex man whose highly individualistic behavior often baffled his friends as well as his foes. In failing to understand him, Mr. Murrow is in good company, for only recently have English-Canadian historians begun to recognize him as a precursor of Canadian independence rather than as a fanatical racist. Bourassa's anti-imperialism was a logical consequence of his bicultural Canadian nationalism, which was premature for the colonial-minded English Canada of his day. He reacted violently and intemperately against the uncultural and imperialist pressures of his time, and, by doing so, he provoked an equally violent and still more intemperate reaction from Anglo-Saxon racists. What support he did find in English Canada came notably from John S. Ewart, who is not mentioned in this account, as well as from Goldwin Smith, who is.

Murrow has failed to grasp the essence of French-Canadian nationalism—preoccupation with cultural survival—and so virtually ignores the vital connection between Bourassa's anti-imperialist campaigns and the denial of educational rights to French Canadians outside Quebec, from Manitoba in the 1890's to Ontario during the First World War. As a result, his account of Bourassa's anti-imperialism, while useful, is incomplete.

University of Western Ontario

MASON WADE

ROYAL GOVERNMENT IN COLONIAL BRAZIL: WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUIS OF LAVRADIO, VICEROY, 1769-1779. By *Dauril Alden*. (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press. 1968. Pp. xxvii, 545. \$15.00.)

IN a massive tome whose substance is the life and multiple roles of a colonial administrator, Dauril Alden has provided a study of a part of Pombaline Brazil (Rio de Janeiro and Rio Grande do Sul) that complements Caio Prado Junior's more broadly based *The Colonial Background of Modern Brazil* and, more recently, Charles Boxer's *The Golden Age of Brazil*. Wide-ranging research, forays into comparative colonial history, meticulous attention to detail in both text and footnotes, and a full bibliography render this a model of the historian's craft within the compass of what Alden chooses to examine.

After an analysis of Lavradio's aristocratic background, a less than sympathetic review of Pombaline colonial policy, and a summary of the administrative background of the viceroyalty of Rio de Janeiro, Alden turns to what he sees as the most absorbing pre-

occupation of Lavradio's tenure, the struggle over the "Debatable Lands." These were the borderlands of Rio Grande do Sul and the Banda Oriental (modern Uruguay) where Iberian imperialisms jockeyed for control of trade and silver flows. Step by step he traces the role of the Jesuit missions, the Portuguese penetration toward the Uruguay and Paraná Rivers and toward the Río de la Plata itself, ultimately focusing upon the contest over Portugal's contraband base at Colonia del Sacramento west of the Spanish port of Montevideo and opposite Buenos Aires. Here is a masterly presentation of diplomatic and military developments that culminated in the military disasters suffered by Portuguese forces in the loss of their entrepôt at Colonia. The Spaniards, for their part, failed to occupy Rio Grande do Sul. Both powers had to compromise.

The last third of the volume covers what may be termed the infrastructure of colonialism and imperialism, colonial economic and fiscal policy and practice: the tax structure that Lavradio found and tried to overhaul, his efforts to stimulate income-producing sectors by agricultural development, and his attempts to reduce one of the major entrepreneurial activities of all metropolitan and colonial economies of the eighteenth century, contraband. The volume closes logically with an assessment of Lavradio as colonial officer.

It is no disservice to Alden to observe that this is a big book about a highborn yet small man who bore the title of viceroy but whose authority was actually, as Alden early points out, circumscribed to the captaincy general of Rio de Janeiro and of Rio Grande do Sul. In this sense it is a book about the Rio de Janeiro area rather than about Brazil. Portuguese colonial administration was structured to maximize direct contact between Lisbon and authorities and the component units of Brazil; Lavradio corresponded with the captain general of Minas Gerais, the most profitable possession of the Portuguese Empire for most of the eighteenth century, but his authority there was nominal. This may account for the curious lack of interest shown by Lavradio in the marked decline of Minas Gerais' gold output after 1770; although nearby, Lavradio proffered an analysis of that key problem in terms that went no further than repeating Lisbon's viewpoint that contraband and local textile manufactures absorbed much of the output. Or, Lavradio may simply have lacked perspicacity, curiosity, or will power to contradict the Lisbon authorities upon whom his career depended.

Lavradio was, as Alden assesses him, "hard-working" and "conscientious," qualities that did not necessarily make him "a great colonial officer" of the stamp, for example, of Mexico's second Conde de Revilla Gigedo. His major problem as viceroy was to supervise defensive (or were they really offensive?) operations in the southern borderlands essential to maintain Portugal's contraband entrepôt deep in the heartland of the Río de la Plata at Colonia. Yet he lacked the vision of a colonial officer who in 1737 had recommended abandoning an indefensible outpost, Colonia, for preserving Rio Grande do Sul. Perhaps Lavradio's acceptance of this policy reflected his perception of the potentialities of profit to Portuguese merchants, although maintenance of the policy drained from Brazil funds that would have been better employed in the colony. Again, he did not question official directives to the effect that no part of the royal fifth of mining output could ever be diverted to local needs even in case of extreme necessity since, ran the orders, "they have indispensable application to this Court [Lisbon]." Thus, in 1773 he dutifully exported to Lisbon on royal account 1,200,000 milreis and in 1774 could raise for extraordinary military and naval operations in the south only 95,670, of which 86,922 constituted a "voluntary subsidy." No wonder that when he left his Brazilian post, Rio's public debt was greater than when he arrived.

A pioneer life-and-times analysis on the broad scale of this volume inevitably pinpoints more problems than it can hope to answer. Here one would like to isolate the in-

terest groups in Spain and Portugal that molded policy makers and led to the expulsion of the Jesuits from their efficient economic operations. To proceed a step further, it is necessary to probe for possible linkages of religious and secular interests to English commercial groups, which were important elements in Portuguese and Spanish colonial trade and which probably enjoyed extensive contacts with the Jesuits themselves. Luso-Spanish interests may well prove to have been only the cutting edges of English commercial expansion into the Río de la Plata; this expansion continued into the first half of the nineteenth century, perhaps beguiled by the unwarranted vision of the resource potentiality of the upper Paraná and Paraguay Rivers. It is significant that Alden is now engaged on a long-range study of the Jesuits' expulsion.

Princeton University

STANLEY J. STEIN

PUEBLO EN VILO: MICROHISTORIA DE SAN JOSÉ DE GRACIA. By *Luis González*. [Centro de Estudios Históricos, New Series, Number 1.] ([México, D.F.:] Colegio de México. 1968. Pp. 365.)

THIS book makes a major contribution to the history of nonelite sectors of Mexican society. San José de Gracia is a small, inconsequent town in the state of Michoacán. From the conquest to the present it has witnessed no epic battles, sired no great heroes, survived no critical events. Yet, for these same reasons, San José has analytical significance. It is to some extent "typical" of village life in Mexico; furthermore, as the author points out, it has grown and changed mainly in isolation from the national community.

At the outset González declares his bold intention to write a "universal" or "global" history of San José on four levels: its socioeconomic, political, cultural tradition and its external contacts. The resulting approach is neither mechanical nor superficial. The author varies his emphasis at different times, though his greatest concern is socioeconomic. He also makes thorough use of diverse sources: written documents, oral tradition, direct observation. Although he cannot avoid either the problem or the necessity of attributing thoughts and feelings to historical figures and groups without any documentation, González displays investigative ingenuity and methodological sophistication throughout the book.

In this manner *Pueblo en vilo* depicts the story of a community that had almost no colonial past, started to grow in the early nineteenth century, developed a primitive pastoral economy, had about three thousand inhabitants on the eve of the Mexican Revolution, experienced two heavy assaults during the subsequent decade of strife, underwent nearly complete destruction for participation in the abortive *cristero* revolt of the 1920's, suffered internal schism because of land redistribution in the 1930's, gained practical access to the outside world through construction of a highway in the 1940's, prospered in the 1950's, increased its population to about eight thousand, and fell upon uncertain times in the 1960's. San José has become, as the title states, "a village up in the air": no longer isolated but still parochial, proud but riddled with resentment, distrustful yet requiring help from the national government, eager for progress but somewhat afraid of the future.

González' treatment is sensitive, cautious, clearly stated, more narrative than analytical. At the same time, his description offers a basis for innumerable hypotheses. With regard to the single theme of national integration, for instance, the San José experience implies that the socioeconomic development of communities in isolation might inhibit their eventual incorporation into the nation and that the violent sweep of a revolutionary movement does not necessarily engender ideological commitment for or against the goals of new rulers. It also suggests that, even after a revolution, the legitimacy of

the central government might coexist or even depend upon the authority of such traditional leaders as, in this case, the parish priest; that emigration of the young can drain off potential challenges to the forces of parochialism; that progressive integration with the nation can splinter a community along class as well as generational lines. Within the limits of local "microhistory," in short, González has touched on crucial broad issues. Thus *Pueblo en vilo* has considerable value for historians in general as well as for students of Mexico in particular.

University of Wisconsin, Madison

PETER H. SMITH

MEXICAN LIBERALISM IN THE AGE OF MORA, 1821-1853. By Charles A. Hale.
[Caribbean Series, Number 11.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1968.
Pp. x, 347. \$10.00.)

PROFESSOR Charles Hale has devoted almost a decade to study and research for his monograph on Mexican liberalism. The resulting volume not only clearly evidences this tremendous effort; it also more than justifies the time, energy, and talent that the author gave to it. In addition to writing the most systematic and penetrating examination of the subject, Hale offers a revisionist interpretation of the standard view of the contending political forces of liberalism and conservatism.

In an effort to cut through official assumptions viewing liberalism not as a historical phenomenon of the nineteenth century but as the point of departure for a basic ideological orientation of contemporary Mexico and identifying it with national ideals, Hale examines Mexican liberalism within the context of a movement common to the Atlantic world but modified by local conditions and circumstances. He carefully analyzes the structure of political liberalism and the thought of its principal theoreticians and architects. Mexican liberalism from 1821 to 1853 is seen principally through the ideas of its chief architect, José María Luis Mora, although other figures are treated as needed, including the symbol of Mexican conservatism, Lucas Alamán.

The juxtaposition of these two figures who have epitomized the ideological conflict in nineteenth-century Mexico is no accident. Their thinking goes far to substantiate Hale's view that there is a kind of social continuity that cuts across liberal and conservative thinking and that their views on social matters tended to coalesce. The importance of the Bourbon reform tradition, not only to Alamán and the Conservatives but also to Mora and the Liberals, is stressed. In part, the key to Hale's corrective is the fact that Mexican liberalism was not monolithic but rather an evolving phenomenon. From the constitutionalism of the 1820's it moved to anticorporatism in the 1830's and to the more sharply defined ideological conflict with the Conservatives in the decades following the disastrous war with the United States. In part, too, the Mexican situation revealed inner contradictions common to nineteenth-century liberalism everywhere. To understand the Liberals' aspirations for a new society, Hale examines the attack on corporate privilege, the role of the United States (more as a model for goals than as a model for methods of achievement), the attitude, strongly Creole in orientation, toward the Indian, and concepts of economic development.

While this study provides an important corrective of traditional views, the author does not and cannot ignore the significance of the ideological conflict that crystallized after 1846, focusing on such political issues as the form of government and the issue of the Church and leading almost irrepressibly to the War of the Reform. Hale's identification of the continuity of certain Bourbon patterns is invaluable and suggestive for later periods, but it does not preclude the simultaneous rejection of other key Spanish institutional arrangements.

Because of its emphasis on the analysis of political thought, this volume requires careful reading. The effort is worthwhile, however, since Hale has provided a very significant contribution to the history of ideas in Mexico. The results of this endeavor augur well for his forthcoming study of Positivism.

University of Texas, Austin

STANLEY R. ROSS

THE HERO AND THE CROWD IN A COLONIAL POLITY. By *A. W. Singham*. [Caribbean Series, Number 12.] (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 1968. Pp. xiv, 389. \$10.00.)

THE "Hero" is a son of the people who rises to power in the emerging "Third World" by challenging an existing political order that rests upon a colonial official, social, and economic elite. The hero, relying heavily on trade-union organization, charms the crowd by his dynamic personality, florid oratory, and extravagant promises. Once in control, he develops vast pretensions, fosters a personality cult, and staves off disillusionment by generous bestowals of largesse. Always, however, he and his "gang" become frustrated and humiliated by denial of membership in prestigious clubs dominated by "the old crowd" and failure to gain social equality. The results are mounting tensions, governmental breakdown, and ultimate explosion.

We have here a superbly researched, admirably written, and fully documented study of such a man, with minor variations rooted in circumstance. The author is a political scientist at the University of the West Indies, and this work is one of a notable series of Caribbean studies originating from that rapidly developing cultural center. The scene is British Grenada, a teeming community, semiliterate and only 1 per cent white, with its less than eighty thousand acres packed with 739 people per square mile. Its inefficient economy, based on small, family-owned farms that produce cacao, nutmeg, and bananas, survives only through preferential treatment of its imports by the British and yields a pitiful income of \$259.00 per person. The time is 1951-1962; the "Hero" is Eric Gairy, a likable self-made former laborer. His political nemesis is another Negro, J. M. Lloyd, a Jamaican careerist of good family, who, as British administrator, fiercely resisted usurpation of power.

Grenada's 1951 Constitution granted universal adult suffrage in anticipation of a West Indian Federation, and another Constitution of 1960 introduced full-fledged ministerial government. Unfortunately, the federation failed to meet the needs of the area and lasted only from 1958 to 1961, leaving Grenada, a potential member, stranded with a political structure too far advanced for its capacities. The collapse of the cacao market gave Gairy an opportunity to form a victorious trade union that ultimately developed into the potent Grenadan United Labour party; as a member of the newly elected Legislative Council, he speedily became a trial to entrenched officialdom. His disenfranchisement in 1957 for political misdemeanors perhaps resulted from the spite of his enemies.

Gairy's assumption of the chief ministership created by the later Constitution was blocked by his doubtful status until 1961, when his civil rights were restored. This resulted in a vendetta that ended in an impasse and, upon Lloyd's urgent plea, a temporary suspension of the Constitution in 1962. When elections followed the subsequent restoration of the Constitution, Gairy was defeated, and the triumphant but wearied Lloyd resigned to take a higher position elsewhere.

Such a study is most certainly worthwhile. It demonstrates fundamental contradictions within recent British colonial polity and shows us the heady stuff of which politics is made.

Alaska Methodist University

LOWELL RAGATZ

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Latin America

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TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

This letter concerns George R. Gilkey's review of my book, *The Genesis of the Contractual Theory and the Installation of the Dukes of Carinthia* (*AHR*, LXXIV [Feb. 1969], 945).

In his copy of Bodin's *Republic*, Thomas Jefferson initialed page 289 and marked the side of page 290, which contained the chapter describing the marks of a tyrant. These two pages evidently served Jefferson as a pattern while drafting the Declaration of Independence. Both intrinsic as well as extrinsic elements serve as evidence: affinity of ideas, textual similarities, Jefferson's initials and side markings. For reasons of his own Mr. Gilkey simply ignored this possibly unpopular truth. I published the French facsimile; I also discussed both texts in the chapter dealing with the "Genesis of Contractual Theory."

Jefferson also initialed and marked the side of page 129, on which the ritual of the installation of the dukes of Carinthia is described. The fact that Jefferson initialed and marked only these three pages offers a clue to understanding the impact that the description of the ritual might have had upon him. Jefferson evidently considered this ritual a confirmation of the contractual nature of hereditary monarchies, as well as one of the common-law precedents upon which he based his claim for American independence. These are my claims; the rest stems from Mr. Gilkey's imagination, including his suggestion that the Slovenes of the Middle Ages might have been, by implication, remote authors of the Declaration of Independence. In this second instance, I have attached to the French facsimile a translation into English.

Piccolomini was only present at the negotiations between Frederick III and the nobles of Carinthia. There is no historical evidence for Mr. Gilkey's claim that Piccolomini himself observed the ritual. This is entirely absent from my book.

Mr. Gilkey merely finds the ritual of installation reminiscent of Indian coronation customs, without giving any evidence of their impact upon the political theories of Jefferson or any other political philosopher. Mr. Gilkey evidently assumed that protest without evidence is scholarship.

In the course of research for my book I accidentally discovered the text that Jefferson evidently used as a pattern while drafting the Declaration of Independence, and I saw no reason to conceal or suppress the truth, no matter how unpopular it might be. To ignore the truth, as Mr. Gilkey did, would, I think, be a disservice to the cause of historical scholarship.

This truth can and should be explained, however. Jefferson turned to Bodin's *Republic*, published for the first time exactly two hundred years before American independence, as an impartial judge in order to test the validity of arguments in favor of the American Revolution. He used Bodin's work for moral argumentation and to establish whether the American Revolution was morally justified.

None of this detracts from the originality and the real historical greatness of Jefferson. As a true American, he was willing to use good ideas wherever he could find them. He was willing to take them from anyone, including, of course, the French and the Slovenes.

Mr. Gilkey questioned the general impact of the ritual on political thought, with no further attempt to substantiate his statement: "I question whether it [the ritual] had the influence on political thought that the author would have us believe."

This general impact of the ritual on contractual theory, and political thought as well, must be considered within the context of Bodin's *Republic*, Book I, Chapter viii, which contains Bodin's definition of sovereignty and the description of the ritual as evidence of the transfer of sovereignty from the people to the ruler. This same chapter of Bodin's *Republic* appears among the sources listed by S. Pufendorf in *De iure Naturae et Gentium*. Both Bodin's *Republic* and Pufendorf's work were known to Rousseau, and the impact of Bodin's doctrine of the transfer of sovereignty is evident in *The Social Contract* and even more in the *Project for the Constitution of Corsica*. John Locke purchased Pufendorf's *De iure* in 1680, and Bodin's *Republic* is listed in Locke's manuscript notebook as early as 1667. Jefferson marked and initialed in his copy page 129 of Bodin's *Republic*, which contained the description of the ritual. These facts indicate why it should be impossible to deny the impact of the ritual on the contractual theory as well as on political thought.

It was, however, utterly foreign to my mind, and I made no attempt to describe the ritual as the single source of contractual theory. I studied the impact of the ritual of the installation of the dukes of Carinthia, within the context of Bodin's doctrine of sovereignty, as a contributing factor, a part of a complex tradition, a real variable in the cluster of ideas that went into the making of Western democratic institutions.

Saint John College, Cleveland

JOSEPH FELICIJAN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Unfortunately, in his review of our book, *Never Again: A President Runs for a Third Term* (AHR, LXXIV [Apr. 1969], 1388), Professor Sidney Fine displays a penchant for calculated negativism rather than intellectual honesty. One wonders what can be the legitimate purpose of a critic determined to destroy rather than review. Having found no misleading or inaccurate interpretations or facts, Professor Fine consistently overlooks what the book does and concentrates on what it does not do.

He berates us for not having used the Frank Walker Papers, for example, without the least indication of their potential value. But he does not reveal that this book makes the first use of the private papers of Wendell Willkie that pertain to the election of 1940 and the files of the Eastern Division headquarters of the Willkie campaign, which were, in fact, first discovered and first examined by the authors. Also, much additional information was obtained from the papers of the Associated Willkie Clubs of America, information that gives substance to claims that the campaign did not require Wall Street domination. In this connection, one wonders about the tone of the following sentence from the review: "They successfully counteract the 'oversimplification' that Willkie's candidacy was 'engineered and dominated by Wall Street,' but this is hardly a novel conclusion." Would Professor Fine have us conclude differently for the sake of revisionism?

Professor Fine laments the lack of anything new about "exactly when President Roosevelt decided to run for a third term," how *The German White Paper* came to be published in America, and the allegations about gallery packing at the Republican convention. Chapter vii, however, is devoted to a close examination of the decision to run for a third term, but Professor Fine is unhappy because he finds that we have

been unable to pinpoint the precise moment when the President decided to run again. We suspect that even FDR could not have told him that. It is true that there is nothing about how *The German White Paper* came to be published, but on pages 137-39 and 169-71 the reader can obtain detailed information, some of which is based on an interview with one of the principals, on the conduct of German activities that were immediately germane to the campaign. In so far as the so-called gallery packing is concerned, this is hardly a live issue. Ellsworth Barnard's biography of Willkie has disposed of the matter nicely, and we can only concur. Had we repeated Barnard's work, Professor Fine would undoubtedly have concluded that "this is hardly a novel conclusion."

Despite the reviewer's statement to the contrary, the book gives an additional dimension to what has already been known about the campaign, and, along with an examination of the total situation, a closer look at the forces and personalities involved is its purpose.

Queensborough Community College, Bayside, New York
Great Neck, New York

HERBERT S. PARMET
MARIE B. HECHT

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In my review of the Parmet and Hecht book I noted that the authors had examined "a variety of manuscript collections and published sources" but, judging from their bibliography, had overlooked the Frank Walker Papers and two doctoral dissertations dealing specifically with their subject. The authors complain that I did not indicate in my brief review the "potential value" of the Walker Papers, but, surely, scholars interested in the politics of the third-term issue or familiar with Bernard F. Donahoe's *Private Plans and Public Dangers*, a book dealing with the third-term nomination that Parmet and Hecht cite in their bibliography, should be aware of the relevance to their subject of the Walker Papers. Donahoe, incidentally, notes in his bibliography that the Walker Papers were "especially important" to him. Parmet and Hecht, to be sure, made use of the Willkie collections to which they refer, but the information of consequence that they derived from these sources was rather limited.

I also remarked that the authors, "for the most part," covered "very familiar ground" and failed to provide any new information on some of the aspects of the 1940 campaign that have most interested historians. On the specific point regarding the character of the Nazi intervention in the campaign, the insubstantial quality of the Parmet and Hecht treatment of the subject will be quickly evident to anyone familiar with the far more revealing account in Alton Frye's *Nazi Germany and the American Hemisphere, 1933-1941*. Since the German propaganda effort in the campaign has been characterized as "one of the most massive interferences in American domestic affairs in history," I do not think it unreasonable to have expected a more comprehensive examination of this subject than Parmet and Hecht have provided. As for the timing of Roosevelt's decision to seek a third term, the gallery-packing question, and the relationship of Wall Street to the Willkie candidacy, I made the factual statement that the authors did not supply any new information regarding the first two items and did not depart from the accepted view of the third, and Parmet and Hecht apparently agree with me at least to this extent.

I did not plan to say it a second time, but I am not persuaded by the Parmet and Hecht communication that I erred in my appraisal of their book and in the judgment

that there were lacunae in their research, that they rarely probed beneath the surface of events, and that *Never Again* "offers very little to the specialist."

University of Michigan

SIDNEY FINE

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Professor Mundy is displeased with the economic and political sections of my book, *The Age of Adversity* (AHR, LXXIV [June 1969], 1606), and I would like to take this opportunity to defend myself. Mundy never mentions that the purpose of my essay was to synthesize the results of latest scholarship. I am familiar with the views he expresses in *The Medieval Town* about the causes of the fourteenth-century depression, but the consensus of experts is that the Black Death—a demographic disaster far greater than either of the world wars—was the most cataclysmic, though certainly not the exclusive, cause of the economic troubles of the age. I agree that "people have something to do with the number of children they engender," but the efficiency of family planning in the Middle Ages is largely a matter of speculation.

What is more important, Mundy gives the impression by the use of quotation marks that I employ the words "bad" and "good" in describing rulers and institutions. I never use these words in such a context. I admit to using the word "competent," but I hardly think that that makes me a "stern" moralist. In fact, I agree with Mundy that competence is closely related to the facts of whether historical figures "won" or "lost," and I think that the job of an elementary synthesis is to report just that. As for the specific case of Baldassare Cossa, should I not have invoked Gibbon's remark that "the vicar of Christ was only accused of piracy, murder, rape, sodomy, and incest"? The deposed Pope admitted many of his crimes himself, and though he might well have had some kindly traits, his pontificate was certainly a nadir of Church history. Does Mundy disagree?

Finally, though I claim no *expertise* and should not let myself be drawn into Mundy's irrelevant discussion of Marx, it does seem that his own knowledge of the "old *barbatus*" is a bit casual. Though Marx may have dismissed individual responsibility, he certainly had his heroes in the forces of progress, and he did not follow his own guidelines about individuals when, for example, he called Thiers "that monstrous gnome." Indeed, I do not think that I am being rash when I say that most of Marx's works contain more moral judgments than *The Age of Adversity*. But perhaps Mundy, who is clearly preoccupied with the turbulence at our universities, should debate this point with the SDS chapter at Columbia University, for which he really seems to have written his digressive review, rather than with me.

Northwestern University

ROBERT E. LERNER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I regret offending Mr. Lerner by seeming to caricature his thought. The words "good" and "bad" should have been in italics instead of quotation marks. What I tried to say, however, was that historians who concentrate upon the personal morality or the success or failure of individuals often merely avoid analyzing society, institutions, and even the role of historical persons. And I think it fair to say that Mr. Lerner's history of Church and state suffers from this fault. Boniface VIII is "brilliant but deeply flawed," Edward II a "mercurial weakling," Richard II "vain and frivolous," Philip II Valois a "quixotic

fool," Charles VI of France a "poor son of an able father," and so on. To spend so much time on this kind of description is to forget that an officer who heads an army or a government does not animate everything. In reality, the historical circumstances of the army or nation, the functioning of lesser leaders and advisers, and the general social solidarity and its capacity to mobilize will and force have far more to do with what happens than the competence or morality of the head. Furthermore, what is questionable when applied to individuals becomes absurd when extended to families, institutions, and even whole nations. To Mr. Lerner the Medici are "crafty," the French nobility "selfish," the Avignonese popes "worldly"; Spain and Scandinavia are excluded because their history is a "dreary and pointless turmoil," and there is no doubt that, in Mr. Lerner's mind, the Church was failing because it was corrupt and degraded.

About specific points, I do not believe that the major trend of recent research argues that the plague caused the economic collapse of the later Middle Ages. The main discussion is over whether trouble was brewing before that event, and it has also been argued that the effect of the plague or recurrent plagues was not always economically deleterious. Moreover, although family planning was not a medieval forte, recent historians of demography are interested in such subjects as the relation of marriage to property, ages at time of marriage, and institutions enjoining celibacy. Nor do I believe it useful to say that John XXII's pontificate was a nadir of Church history. John was removed by the fathers assembled at Constance, perhaps the high point of the conciliar movement, a movement that contemporaries thought—wrongly, as it turned out *a century later*—would renew the Church. As for John himself, he was surely no saint, but I went over the testimony against him some twelve years ago and concluded that it was largely hearsay, irrelevant or exaggerated, and clearly motivated by the fathers' need to make the Pope bow to the council. That he bowed, there is no doubt, but he did so under coercion and changed his mind when he escaped from prison. Besides, one has merely to look at the similar evidence assembled by the French against the Templars or against Boniface VIII to know that polemic has its own dialectic of excess and that testimony under oath is not always truthful.

Finally, it is well known that a mixture of personal and programmatic needs made Marx write as though he were Chrysostom come alive again, and that he could sometimes vault to incredible heights. What he said about Thiers is as nothing compared to what he said about his rival "der jüdische Nigger Lassalle." But I prefer to think that the useful side of Marx is expressed in the passage I cited, and what it implies about his real effort to explain the experience of man here on earth. In fact, I am not half so much worried about today's idealist-Marxian ideologues as I am about our many professional historians who waste their time second-guessing by means of hindsight their predecessors' actions on life's battlefields.

Columbia University

JOHN H. MUNDY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Richard M. Weaver's *The Southern Tradition at Bay* is, according to Professor Carl N. Degler (*AHR*, LXXIV [June 1969], 1735), amusingly amateur and anachronistic. As the "author is dead, his literary executor is dead, and the author of the introduction, Donald Davidson, is also dead," perhaps I may be pardoned for presuming to play the devil's advocate.

It is unfortunate, if instructive, that Weaver is remembered for the topical, post-

war *Ideas Have Consequences*, rather than for his scholarly book and essays on *The Ethics of Rhetoric*. Weaver, a rhetor and something of a semanticist, was especially interested in the corruption of words in contemporary usage and the social and cultural consequences thereof. In his southern essays he dealt with various aspects of a traditional southern culture, which was radically unmodern. In *The Southern Tradition at Bay* he employs his peculiar and anachronistic perspective in a study of a worthy theme: that of the continuity of the Old South into the New. There is room for such a work by a literary historian with a queer world view.

Weaver writes of the traditional South as having been "*the last non-materialist civilization in the Western World*." One wonders whether Professor Degler is as convulsed when his Bay Area neighbors, standing with one foot in Marx and the other in Freud, decry the materialism of the "System"! *The Ethics of Rhetoric* is a brilliant and constructive study of the miasma—which passes for healthy social commentary—of modern rhetoric; its author was constitutionally incapable of anything so puerile as moonlight and magnolia history. His principles, not the form of his work, mark him as an intellectual anachronism. Because "history is a liberal art" with the potential to humanize, he undertook the study of a lost cause. "It is good for everyone to ally himself at one time with the defeated and to look at the 'progress' of history through the eyes of those who were left behind."

Weaver rebukes not reason, but the pervasive modern rationalism with its dehumanizing effect. The scholar may recognize a spiritual consanguinity with Michael Oakeshott, a well-known conservative writer and professor of political science at the University of London, whose book *Experience and Its Modes* (1933) first brought him prominence. Mr. Oakeshott's scholarship is anachronistic, but he is not yet dead.

State University College, Potsdam, New York

H. PETER PUDNER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

There is indeed room for a work that studies "the continuity of the Old South into the New," as Mr. Pudner suggests. The difficulty is that Mr. Weaver's book is not a study, but an apology. For that and other reasons I called the book anachronistic. My objection to Mr. Weaver's denominating the Old South as "non-materialist" arose not from a dislike for such civilizations, but from my serious doubt that his description is accurate. I quite agree that the study of a lost cause is "good for everyone" at some time; I simply did not find Mr. Weaver's examination accurate in the light of what is known today about the thought and character of the nineteenth-century South. But in the light of Mr. Pudner's letter, perhaps Weaver ought not to be judged as a historian—a suggestion with which I can certainly agree.

Stanford University

CARL N. DEGLER

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

In his study "Big Business and the Rise of Hitler," which was read before the 1968 Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association and published in the *American Historical Review* (LXXV [Oct. 1969], 56–70), Henry A. Turner several times refers to an article with a similar title that I published in the *Journal of Economic History* (XII [1952], 222–40). (Turner used the German translation, which appeared in Frankfurt in 1955 and, often thereafter, as part of a book). Ernst Nolte, in his contribution

to this discussion, likewise comments on parts of this study. I welcome this opportunity to answer both scholars, even though the immense topic in question can hardly be handled adequately in the short space allotted.

It would appear that an author who deals with the mutual relations of two social groups (the effect of a big, dictator-run political party and the business community) must, first of all, present an analysis, if only in the form of a summary, of the sociological structure, the interests, the main ideas, and the pattern of action of the groups involved, illustrated by their recent history. For this purpose, Dr. Turner should have cast at least a glance toward the attitude of German big business in World War I (now illustrated by mountains of material unearthed by Fritz Fischer); toward the well-documented efforts of Hugo Stinnes and others to continue such a policy right after Versailles; toward the two-faced "peace" policy imposed upon these circles in the years 1924-1929 by the end of the monetary inflation and the need of American credits; and toward the resumption of their original policy during the Great Depression, combined with rearmament and a new expansionist wave, as antidotes against the economic plight. Simultaneously, Dr. Turner might have analyzed, likewise quite briefly, the ascent of the Nazi party, which grew from an insignificant little group almost totally collapsed after the period of inflation into a mass movement blown up by the depression and consisting chiefly of the unemployed—those true believers in the star of Adolf Hitler, the "poor white trash from Austria" as I called him in one of my books, who hated Jews, Slavs, and Bolsheviks.

Though many of those in heavy industry during the depression began to listen attentively to advocates of European militarization against Russia such as Arnold Rechberg, the representatives of big business as a whole and the Nazis, who harbored a deep hatred of the Russians, did not like each other. In this respect I agree with Dr. Turner, and I also admit that not even the similarity in their outlook toward rearmament and expansion sufficed to bring them together. But given the situation in the *Reichstag*, where big business—represented in the *Deutsche Volkspartei* and, to a lesser extent, in some adjacent groups—controlled only a small minority, its program could never have been carried out had it not received political help from Hitler. This basic situation forced big business to accept him as an ally after the experiments of Von Papen and Von Schleicher to proceed without him had failed abysmally. Thus Hitler's ascent to the chancellorship corresponded, if not to the wishes, at least to the economic and political interests of big business.

This is, however, only a part of the story. Much has been said about the amounts paid Hitler by individual producers and business groups even before his final rise. Given the fact that the best potential witness, the party's treasurer Franz Xaver Schwarz, died shortly after the war without having been properly interrogated, and in view of the diverse nature of the documentary material at hand, this is likely to remain a controversial question. While I am not inclined to follow Dr. Turner in turning down or minimizing practically all proofs that the Nazis were financed by big business, I have been much more reticent in handling this question than have some other authors. It is curious that this attitude has not saved me from the charge of being too credulous leveled by Dr. Turner and Dr. Nolte; it has, on the other hand, caused a sharp criticism by the East German historian Dr. Fritz Klein who, in reviewing the English version of my article in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft*, took issue with my cautious attitude and my statement that all those contributions, even if proved, would have been only a "drop in the bucket," given the huge debts, said to have been between seventy million and ninety million marks, contracted by the Nazis. (Since

the English version of my study, used by Dr. Klein [see *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft* (1955), 874–75], did not contain its first part, it failed to reproduce the qualifications I had formulated with reference to the above figures, which were based on Heiden. I had stated that they [according to Heiden] reflected the total expenses of the NSDAP, while the debts it thus incurred, according to the same author, were estimated to have been twelve million marks [see German text of my study, n. 34]. In attacking me, Dr. Klein made a valid point. Given the fact that the big banks that gave Hitler credit were a potent wing of big business, Dr. Klein stated that, in those years when most big producers went begging, bank credits were just the form in which the financing of Hitler by big business took place.

However this might be, the financing of Hitler by business certainly was only a part of the economic side of the story. There is, Dr. Turner notwithstanding, excellent evidence that the “political” protection given big business by the Nazis, which I have mentioned above, was accompanied by acts of economic protection. At the end of 1932 both big business and its traditional social rival, big landowners, needed Nazi help to avoid an immediate economic and political crisis. Earlier that year the big landowners, including *Reich* President von Hindenburg, had received huge subsidies from the *Reich*, the famous *Osthilfe*, which could not have been defended had the *Reich* relapsed into a “normal” democracy and had that deal been investigated by an uninhibited *Reichstag*. But big business similarly had been subsidized by the semidictatorial governments that preceded Hitler. In the spring of 1932 they had bought the shares of the Gelsenkirchen corporation, which controlled the German steel industry, for three or four times their market value in order to rescue from bankruptcy those top industrialists who held large blocks of the shares that were pledged to the banks. In writing about these transactions I have stressed, as have others, that the envisaged protection granted to Hindenburg, the *Junkers*, and the top industrialists by Hitler over the protest of the public and the Nazi Left Wing (which he constantly fought and finally smashed) was instrumental in causing Hindenburg to appoint Hitler as Chancellor. It is strange that Dr. Turner pays almost no attention to those vital and closely related cases and that, in merely four lines of the footnote that he dedicates to the Gelsenkirchen matter, he states that my views about it have been successfully refuted by Herr Volkland, a Communist author. While in his general views as anti-Communist as can be, Dr. Turner gladly accepts Communist help where it suits him. In reality, by the way, Herr Volkland is far from denying the historical importance of the Gelsenkirchen matter; he merely states that the *Reich*’s motivation in buying the shares was different from those I originally presented, and he also doubts the willingness of the three *Reichstags* that followed each other in 1932 to probe into that case—something I would be the last to contest since those assemblies were exposed to political pressure.

Hitler’s (and Göring’s) active interest in the Gelsenkirchen matter—the nucleus of the case for which Dr. Turner falsely contends I have no proof—is documented by excellent evidence (Flick’s testimony, trial record, pp. 3200 ff. For details, see nn. 76–79 of my study under discussion.). This is also true of the active help he received from the leaders of the steel group involved, both from Fritz Thyssen and Albert Vögler, as is the way in which Hitler showed the steel group his gratitude: the reprivatization of the Gelsenkirchen during the first years of Hitler’s regime. This last complexity has been treated with an overwhelming amount of documentary material by Kurt Gossweiler in his article “Die Vereinigten Stahlwerke und die Grossbanken” (*Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte*, IV [1965], 11–51). Gossweiler’s study has unfortunately escaped Dr. Turner’s attention and that of Dr. Nolte, whose numerous and in many respects useful

books on the history of fascism regrettably neglect the economic side and whose contribution to the present discussion consists primarily of the correction of some minor points such as the way in which Hitler, after his fatal meeting with Von Papen, mobilized financial help. I do not insist that my version of this step, which, I emphasized in a footnote, is based on conjecture, is absolutely correct. But I would like to emphasize that, according to the Goebbels diaries, the financial situation of the party, which he had called disastrous, did improve enormously within less than two weeks after that meeting—a turn that the great propagandist, to be sure, ascribed to economizing.

In summing up, I find it regrettable that our historians too often refuse to deal with the type of problems under discussion in a manner that would enable them to provide a convincing answer to the explanations advanced by the Marxist-Leninist schools. Our general neglect of those matters has never been more damaging than at present, in the time of the ABM's and the MIRV's, when our capacity to investigate the intricacies of the economic-military complex has become vital in this nation's struggle to avoid a nuclear holocaust.

Washington, D. C.

GEORGE W. F. HALLGARTEN

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I can readily agree with Dr. Hallgarten that a fully adequate treatment would require more attention to the earlier histories of both German big business and the Nazi party. But since I was allotted only twenty minutes for my paper, that was impossible on this occasion. I shall be able to devote more attention to these matters in the book I am now preparing on the same topic.

Regarding the rest of Hallgarten's letter, it might seem to the casual reader that he has remained unmoved by the criticisms leveled at his work by Professor Nolte and by me. Such is, however, not the case. Apparently in response to our efforts, he has abandoned, or significantly qualified, several key contentions of his own study. We now learn, for example, that he no longer regards his version of the aftermath of the Hitler-Papen meeting of January 4, 1933, as absolutely correct. In his own study, by contrast, he stated quite positively, and without qualification, that large amounts of big business money went to the Nazis immediately after that meeting. So definite was he on this point, in fact, that a number of reputable scholars have accepted his statement as conclusive proof. Now Hallgarten seeks to dismiss the issue as a bagatelle, stating that he has been challenged merely with regard to "the way" in which Hitler "mobilized financial help" after his meeting with Papen. But as I made plain in my paper, something more fundamental is at stake: *whether* Hitler received *any* money from big business as a result of that meeting. It is curious that Hallgarten does not respond to that question or to my charge that the text of the only document he cited in support of his own interpretation (Schroeder affidavit PS-3337) completely contradicts his account of the meeting's aftermath.

Instead of addressing himself to these matters, Hallgarten directs our attention to an entry in Goebbels' diary for January 1933. There mention is indeed made of a sudden improvement in the party's finances, but, as Hallgarten admits, this is attributed by Goebbels to a reduction in expenditures rather than to increased contributions. Hallgarten's dismissal of the latter point on the grounds that Goebbels was a propagandist ignores the fact that the diary was kept secret at the time and thus served no immediate propaganda purposes. To be sure, it is possible that the text of the diary was tampered with for propaganda reasons at the time of its publication in 1934. But

if that is what Hallgarten is suggesting, he undercuts his own case by calling into doubt the authenticity of the very source he has just invoked. As for his claim that his own interpretation of the aftermath of the Papen-Hitler meeting was qualified by a footnote indicating it was based on "conjecture," I invite the reader to find any such footnote; I have been unable to do so.

Hallgarten's letter reveals that he has also given ground with regard to another key argument of his own study: the allegedly crucial importance of the Gelsenkirchen deal. Earlier he maintained that the Nazis gained the support of part of the steel industry by shielding from a clamor for parliamentary investigation of the affair those industrialists who had profited from the transaction. Now he indicates he does not contest the findings of an East German historian that show that there was no such clamor, and thus no need for Nazi protection. Ignoring in his letter the implications of this removal of the basis of his interpretation, Hallgarten assures us there is evidence of Hitler's and Göring's interest in the affair in the transcript of the Flick trial. This is so, if not to the degree he infers, but it is also beside the point. What is crucial is whether those industrialists who benefited from the transaction aided the Nazis thereafter. On that score, Hallgarten tells us that Hitler was aided by Fritz Thyssen, who, as everyone knows, had become his supporter well before the Gelsenkirchen deal (and who, according to Hallgarten's own version of the affair, opposed the transaction). He also alleges that Hitler received "direct aid" from Albert Vögler, but offers no evidence to back up this assertion about the political behavior of one of the most problematical figures of the pre-1933 period. It is surprising that there is no mention in his letter of the central figure in the Gelsenkirchen deal, Friedrich Flick. Nor is there any attempt to challenge my interpretation of Flick's political activities in 1932, an interpretation that stands in contradiction to Hallgarten's thesis on the Gelsenkirchen affair.

By his abandonment, or retroactive qualification, of key elements of his own study, Hallgarten has only weakened his case with this letter. He has added nothing new, unless we accept an undocumented allegation by the East German historian Fritz Klein regarding purported credits extended the Nazis by German *Grossfinanz* (an allegation that, as far as I am aware, Klein has never sought to prove in the sixteen years since publication of the article cited by Hallgarten). The points that Hallgarten does bring to bear are familiar to all and concern mainly developments that came *after*, rather than before, Hitler's acquisition of power (reprivatization of Gelsenkirchen, suppression of the Nazi Left Wing, rearmament, and expansion). By building his case so largely on these post-*Machtübernahme* developments, he has, in fact, provided a convenient illustration of the fallacious *cui bono* approach I described in my paper, according to which big business *must* have aided Hitler's rise, since it eventually came off well in the Third *Reich*. Hallgarten even manages to employ as well the other fallacious line of reasoning I mentioned: that which seeks refuge in an alleged distinction between "subjective" (or perceived) factors and "objective" (or actual) ones when the participants in history fail to perform as it is thought they should. That approach is evident in Hallgarten's statement that "Hitler's ascent . . . corresponded, if not to the wishes, at least to the economic and political interests of big business."

Finally, I must take sharp exception to certain of Hallgarten's remarks that have nothing to do with the topic under discussion. He states, for example, that I am, in my "general views as anti-Communist as can be." Here I submit that my criticism of certain historical studies that employ Marxist-Leninist theories hardly constitutes an adequate basis for conclusions about my political opinions. Even more objectionable is

the charge that, in referring to an article by an East German historian, I was accepting "Communist help" when it served my purposes. That is a serious allegation implying that I apply standards other than scholarly merit in citing the works of others. Let me therefore assure Dr. Hallgarten that I cited Volkland's article because of its convincing argument and sound documentation, not because of the author's political views (with which I am, in any case, unacquainted). Equally unacceptable to me are Hallgarten's final remarks, which seem to suggest that our efforts to understand the past should be shaped by the political exigencies of today. That is a position which I think all those dedicated to the serious furtherance of historical knowledge will reject emphatically.

Yale University

HENRY ASHBY TURNER, JR.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

It was certainly not the intention of my "Comment" (nor could it be Professor Turner's intention) to describe the intricate relationship between Hitler and big business. This, in fact, was the task of the books of Messrs. Czichon, Hallgarten, and others. The errors that I mentioned may be "minor" ones, but they are, I fear, very characteristic of a state of mind which, because of its noble political motives (as again demonstrated by the last sentence of Mr. Hallgarten's communication), seems to be in danger of neglecting or contorting factual accuracy. The main purpose of my "Comment" was to point out the qualitative difference between Hitler's plans and mere "industrial interests," and this is the content of my "numerous" books on fascism, too. Fascism is only an important subject of historiography if it was more than the tool of certain private interests, and this decisive point *cannot* be cleared by narrating the various relations between the party and some industrialists. In this sense the "neglect of the economic angle" may be the precondition of writing the history of genuine fascist movements.

University of Marburg

ERNST NOLTE

RECENT DEATHS

Raymond L. Welty, whose death on May 23, 1968, was briefly noted in the last issue of the *AHR*, was for more than thirty years chairman of the department of social science at Fort Hays Kansas State College; he was also a past president of the Kansas Association of Teachers of History and Social Science.

George Herbert Guttridge, Sather Professor of History, emeritus, in the University of California, Berkeley, died at Carmel, California, January 7, 1969. He had passed virtually his entire teaching career at Berkeley, forty years at the time of his retirement in 1965, teaching in the fields of Renaissance and Reformation as well as modern British history. Born at Hull, Yorkshire, in 1898, he was molded in the ambience of the Methodist manse, and he preserved throughout his life the exterior severity tempered by great internal warmth that the chapel ethos of Edwardian England demanded of its sons. He never lost his Yorkshire accent, nor the directness of the northern Englishman. An admirer of his tutor, the eminent medievalist G. G. Coulton, at Cambridge, he would remark that Coulton suffered from an excess of zeal. Guttridge sought, and attained, scholarly and scholastic equableness, for his passion, while considerable, was bounded and restrained. After service in the Great War, he completed his studies at Cambridge and lectured there for a year before spending a year at Harvard as a Choate Fellow. He came to Berkeley in 1925 as an assistant professor and began an unbroken association with California that, at the time of his retirement, made him the *doyen* of the history department. It also, during the preceding decade when the department grew rapidly both in numbers and in excellence, accorded him an exceptional influence in directing that growth.

Guttridge's scholarly work was devoted principally to the middle years of eighteenth-century British politics, particularly the career of Lord Rockingham, his group of Whigs, and their eminent spokesman, Burke. Yet his first book, *The Colonial Policy of William III and the West Indies* (1922), evidenced his strong emphasis on partisan politics as the key to policy in particular and parliamentary statecraft in general that would inform his later books, especially *English Whiggism and the American Revolution* (1942, 1963) and *The Early Career of Lord Rockingham* (1952). By this emphasis—continuous, pervasive, but never contentious in tone—Guttridge breasted the increasing flood tide of the Namier interpretation. His later work has served as a foil for the “new look” in eighteenth-century British historiography, but it has also provided a brake on the natural tendency to overzealousness that new interpretation spawns. Guttridge's last major work, completed shortly before his retirement, *The Correspondence of Edmund Burke*, Volume III, *July 1774–June 1778* (1961), demonstrated his meticulous scholarship and his remarkable powers of historical observation and criticism.

An extremely effective lecturer, organized, vital (though not showy), with a dry wit remembered long after the points of the lecture were forgotten, Guttridge left a profound mark on some of his students and touched all of them. His colleagues were moved

to great affection for him by the same qualities and an appreciation of his forthrightness and candor as manifested in the business of the department and the university. Appropriately, a fund has been established in his memory to assist graduate students at Berkeley to undertake study in Britain.

University of California, Berkeley

THOMAS G. BARNES

Arthur N. Cook of Temple University died February 18.

On April 6 Joseph Levenson, Sather Professor of History at the University of California, Berkeley, fell from an overturned canoe into the Russian River, sixty miles north of San Francisco. Two of his sons, who were wearing life jackets, were swept by the swift current far downstream to shore; but he, though a vigorous swimmer, was pulled under and was never seen alive again. At that time Joseph Levenson was only forty-eight years old.

The impact of his death on those who knew and loved him was shattering. At Berkeley, a hundred or so of his students and colleagues gathered spontaneously as soon as they heard of his death. A few of his friends tried to express their grief, but broke into tears. Most sat in stunned silence. Similar meetings were held across the country at other universities, and on April 13 a funeral service held at his synagogue was attended by relatives and friends from the United States and England. Professor Donald Keene of Columbia University delivered the eulogy.

Within his family, far more closely knit than most, Levenson most openly showed his playfulness, his vivid intellectual interests, his love of music, and his abiding belief in Judaism. But others, hardly as close to him, experienced a sense of grief that was almost puzzling in its intensity. For his colleagues in the university he was without doubt one of the most brilliant of their company. Educated at the Boston Latin School, he had gone on to graduate from Harvard University in 1941. Having served as a Japanese language officer in the United States Navy, he returned to Harvard after the war, receiving both an M.A. and Ph.D., as well as being elected to the Society of Fellows. In 1951 he began to teach Chinese history at Berkeley and was made a full professor ten years later. There was the usual list of honors (book prizes, a Guggenheim Award, an invitation to spend a year at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences, editorships, and international colloquia), culminating in his appointment to the Sather Chair of History. Yet he was more than simply brilliant. Active in departmental and university affairs, he possessed a fine sense of critical judgment and responsibility. Time and time again in the endless committee sessions of American university life today, Levenson would insert the *mot juste*—a single thoughtful sentence that might sum up the confused meanderings of an entire afternoon, settle ruffled tempers, point with unerring precision to the crux of a dispute. Extraordinarily articulate and possessed with consuming intellectual curiosity, he will be remembered in these circles above all for his gentle wit, his playfulness with words, and his lifetime love affair with the English language, which was for him as hands are to the surgeon.

Some, though not all, of this came across to his students. Levenson created no acolytes, no "school" of history, for so much of his genius lay precisely in the elaborate filigrees and metaphors that informed his writing. That kind of subtlety, as one student of his pointed out, is the first thing that is lost in the transmission of method from master to disciple. Nor did Levenson want to create simple emulators. Like a *wu-wei*

Taoist, he believed in letting his advanced students pursue their own paths toward scholastic individuality. Here his great contribution was his ability to perceive what the implications of a historical problem were. There are countless stories of students wandering into his office with thesis or seminar problems that they would confusedly recount until Levenson—his gaze turning inward as he began to see a theme emerge—would enthusiastically soar into a fugue that both enlivened and illuminated the student's work. To undergraduates he was a stunning lecturer and a humane teacher. After his death, Berkeley's student newspaper mourned his passing and spoke of the way in which he invariably greeted the idlest caller with a broad smile in his book-cluttered office, lighting and relighting one of his caked pipes as he patiently listened to the visitor.

Levenson the scholar was without peer. His first book, *Liang Ch'i-ch'ao and the Mind of Modern China* (1953), recast Chinese historiography. Liang, the greatest Chinese intellectual figure of the early twentieth century, bridged traditional Confucian reformers and Marxist revolutionaries. Under Levenson's pen, Liang's mind came to reflect the tensions of choice at this pivotal point in Chinese history. For Levenson saw in Liang's thinking, not static thought but rather a living and poignant hesitation between history (*meum*—"what is mine"—Chineseness) and value (*verum*—"what is universally valid"—Western cultural supremacy). To explore the origins and consequences of this dilemma, Levenson began writing his great trilogy, *Confucian China and Its Modern Fate*. Volume I, *The Problem of Intellectual Continuity* (1958), traced Ming-Ch'ing Confucian values (the "amateur ideal," "bureaucratic-monarchic tension") through the failure of nineteenth-century mandarins to employ Western techniques to buttress a Chinese cultural essence ("*i*" and "*yung*"). Volume II, *The Problem of Monarchical Decay* (1964), was a reprise of the "bureaucratic-monarchic tension" theme. Its importance to the traditional Chinese state was made evident in the demise of Confucian bureaucrats and monarchs alike as that vital tension dissolved between them in the face of Taiping doctrines of transcendent sovereignty. Volume III, *The Problem of Historical Significance* (1965), used Levenson's distinction between culturalism and nationalism to explain modern China's ambivalence about its own past. Was Chinese Marxism more Chinese than Marxist, or the contrary? Levenson answered that it was purely neither. Twentieth-century China was, instead, caught between its own history and that of the rest of the world. And so a new problem emerged for Levenson, for us, and for Chinese cultural revolutionaries: the struggle between cosmopolitanism and nationalism.

Just before his death, Levenson wrote an essay on his interest in history. The last lines read: "Cosmopolitan in the Chinese imperial world, Confucianists struck a provincial note in the wider world of the nations, and they passed out of history, into history. In the manner of their passing they bequeathed their particular world (universal, to them), where they had been historians in particular, to historians in general. And as one of the latter I am moving now, with a feeling of continuity of my own, to that cosmopolitan theme, the theme of cosmopolitanism itself. Beyond Confucian China and its modern fate (both that history on the stage and my history on the page), *Provincialism and Cosmopolitanism: Chinese History and the Meaning of "Modern Times"* is sputtering, and may sometime come alive." The force of Joseph Levenson's personality may gradually fade, but there will ever be that sharp ache when we recall so fine a mind snuffed out before its time.

University of California, Berkeley

FREDERIC WAKEMAN

As was briefly noted in the June issue of the *American Historical Review*, John Henry Wuorinen, emeritus professor of European history of Columbia University, died of cancer after a short illness on April 10, 1969.

Professor Wuorinen was born at Vaasa, Finland, in 1897. He fled from the Russian domination of his native land by skiing across the Gulf of Bothnia in March 1916, an expedition on which some of his comrades were lost. He arrived in New York in April of the same year and made his way to Massachusetts where there was a colony of his fellow countrymen. In September 1918 he entered Clark University and graduated with honors in 1921. He received his M.A. from the same institution in 1922 and taught briefly at Clark University and at the University of Iowa. He began his career at Columbia University in 1924, in the branch that was to become the School of General Studies.

At Columbia he early concentrated his professional interests upon the Scandinavian Peninsula and published widely about the area, especially concerning his native Finland. His doctoral dissertation, *Nationalism in Modern Finland* (1931), was followed by *The Prohibition Experiment in Finland* (1931), *Suomalaisuuden Historia* (1935), *The Finns on the Delaware* (1938), *Finland and World War II* (1948), *A History of Finland* (1965), and *Scandinavia* (1965). During World War II he served in the Office of Strategic Services as an expert on Scandinavia. He was a trustee of the American-Scandinavian Foundation, was decorated by the Swedish and Finnish governments, and held an honorary degree from the University of Helsinki.

Wuorinen had a long and distinguished career as a teacher. His students admired his conscientious and sympathetic guidance of their work and their professional activities. From 1949 to 1958 he was chairman of the department of history at Columbia and ably directed its fortunes in a period of extensive reconstruction. He was regarded by his colleagues as a painstaking administrator and an excellent judge of talent.

Professor Wuorinen remained active after his retirement from Columbia. He was dean of the faculty at Mt. Wachusett Community College from 1965 to 1967, returned to Columbia as a special lecturer from 1965 to 1967, and was distinguished visiting professor of history and Scandinavian studies at the University of Wisconsin in 1967-1968.

Professor Wuorinen is survived by his widow Alfild (Kalijarvi) Wuorinen, and two sons, John Henry, Jr., and Charles Peter. He leaves behind him a fine tradition of scholarship and a host of friends who mourn his passing.

Columbia University

SHEPARD B. CLOUGH

Frank Tannenbaum, who was born in Austria in 1893 and came to the United States in 1905, died in New York after a lingering illness on June 1. His degrees (B.A., Columbia University, 1921; Ph.D., Brookings Graduate School, 1927) were incidents in, rather than a prelude to, his active, many-faceted life. In 1935 he joined the Columbia faculty, becoming professor emeritus in 1961.

Although his departmental assignment was Latin American history, only six of Frank Tannenbaum's fifteen books deal centrally with Latin America, and scarcely any is a work of history by standard definition. He was at home in all the social sciences, philosophy, and literature, not from calculated efforts to integrate the disciplines but from commitment to the integrity of human experience. So developed was his gift of empathy that he claimed to have been able to see the world through the eyes of the burro that carried him across Mexico many years ago.

All that Frank Tannenbaum taught and wrote illuminated important situations that had deeply touched him. His early years with the IWW led to two books on labor movements. A prison term served in 1914 for leading homeless, hungry men into churches wakened his interest in criminology and led to three books, among them the widely used *Crime and the Community* (1938). His experiences in the South informed his prophetic *Darker Phases of the South* (1924) and, much later, his seminal *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas* (1947). His books on Mexico and Latin America, including *Peace by Revolution* (1933) and the Bolton Prize-winning *Ten Keys to Latin America* (1962), had a quiet authority derived from years of grass-roots acquaintance with the region as a newspaperman, economist, and education specialist in Mexico, as a three-year consultant on Puerto Rican problems in the 1930's, as a backlands traveler who made three canoe trips down the Amazon. His sympathy for other cultures added dimension to his book and articles on American foreign policy. This wide spectrum of personal and scholarly involvements is recapitulated in *The Balance of Power in Society* (1969), a collection of essays written from 1923 to 1968, which includes prolegomena to most of his books and to a broad pluralistic philosophy of society.

To reflect on institutions meant, for Frank Tannenbaum, to try and change them. He was an architect of the legislation introduced by Senator Bankhead to create the Farm Security Administration. He served with the National Commission on Law Observance and Law Enforcement. He founded and directed Columbia's University Seminars, inaugurated in 1945 and now comprising some fifty seminars with seventeen hundred participants from over four hundred academic and nonacademic institutions. This venture, conceived as a "continuing fellowship" rather than a program of instruction, is a living memorial to his philosophy of education.

Frank Tannenbaum expressed himself with the warmth, clarity, and wisdom of one whose ideas have been forged in a rich and strenuous life. As our current academic disquiet perhaps reflects, this breed of scholar is no more.

Yale University

RICHARD M. MORSE

Axel A. Norius of Great Falls, Montana, died June 12.

Theodore C. Blegen of the University of Minnesota died July 18. His publications include: *Norwegian Migration to America* (2 vols., 1931, 1940); *Minnesota: A History of the State* (1963); and *The Kensington Rune Stone: New Light on an Old Riddle* (1968).

Frank Monaghan, author of *John Jay, Defender of Liberty*, died July 19, at the age of sixty-four. His intellectual pursuits were varied; for example, he edited the *Franco-American Review* and served as historian for the New York World's Fair of 1939.

Harold Hulme, professor emeritus at New York University, died July 30, at the age of seventy-one. Among his publications is *The Life of Sir John Eliot, 1592 to 1632* (1957).

John B. MacInnes of Ithaca College died in July.

Robert G. McCloskey of Harvard University died August 4.

Laurence Foster of Linfield College died August 15.

George F. Lemmer, US Air Force historian, died August 22, at the age of fifty-four. He was the coauthor of the *History of the United States Air Force, 1907-1957*.

Wilfrid Hardy Callcott, professor emeritus of the University of South Carolina, died September 20, at Houston, Texas, where he was a visiting professor at the University of Houston. Professor Callcott was a member of the history department at the University of South Carolina for forty-five years, from 1923 to 1968. He was an outstanding teacher and scholar in United States diplomatic and Latin American history. He was dean of the Graduate School from 1945 to 1959 and dean of the faculty from 1955 to 1961. He had been president of the Deans of Southern Graduate Schools and was a Fulbright Lecturer at Oxford University, 1963 to 1964. He had been a visiting professor at the University of Texas and at Duke University. Among his important publications were *Church and State in Mexico, 1822-1957*; *Liberalism in Mexico 1857-1929*; *Santa Anna*; *Caribbean Policy of the United States, 1890-1920*; and *The Western Hemisphere*.

Tibor Kerekes of New York City died October 5, at the age of seventy-six. He served as head of the history department at Georgetown University from 1950 to 1961 and was the author of *Hungary: The Problem of the Danubian Basin* (1941) and *Rejuvenated Italy* (1961).

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R. K. Webb, Managing Editor

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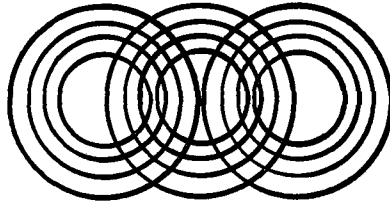
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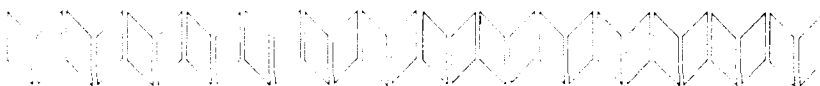
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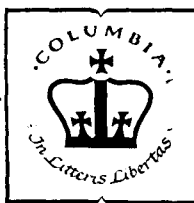
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By COUNT FRANCESCO DAL VERME. Translated and edited by ELIZABETH COMETTI,
West Virginia University. xxxiii, 147 pp. \$6.00

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